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THE

ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

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BY LUIGI CARLO FARINI.

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HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN STATE,

FROM 1815 TO 1850.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE POPE TO THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE POPE'S LETTER TO THE MARQUIS SACCHETTI. — EFFECT PRODUCED BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS DEPARTURE. — MAMIANI ENTERS THE MINISTRY. — MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES. — LANGUAGE OF GALLETTI. — DEBATE. — CONCLUSION. — TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ROMAN STATES. — DEBATE AND CONCLUSION OF THE HIGH COUNCIL. — ITS PROCLAMATION. — SUBSEQUENT DEBATES AND DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES. — PLAN OF MAMIANI FOR A FEDERATIVE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. — BRIEF OF THE POPE DATED FROM GAETA. — EFFECT PRODUCED BY IT IN ROME. — NOTICES OF THE PERSONS INTRUSTED BY THE HOLY FATHER WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE. — PLANS OF MAMIANI. — REMARKS ON A NOTE OF HIS TO THE DIPLOMATIC BODY. — RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTERS. — SITTING OF THE DEPUTIES. — LANGUAGE OF STURBINETTI THE PRESIDENT. — PROPOSALS OF PANTALEONI CARRIED IN THE COUNCIL. — DEPUTATION TO HIS HOLINESS NOMINATED. — SIMILAR DETERMINATION AND APPOINTMENT IN THE HIGH COUNCIL. — INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DEPUTATIONS. — NOTICES OF THE PERSONS PUT UPON THEM. — THEIR SETTING OUT ON THE 5TH OF DECEMBER.

On the morning of the 25th of November, the Marquis Sacchetti, who was acting as head of the Household,

made the minister Galletti aware of the Pope's departure, by showing him a letter in the following terms:—

"Marquis Sacchetti,

"To your known prudence and honour We confide the duty of apprising the Minister Galletti of Our departure; and of urging him, with all the other Ministers, to provide for the safety not so much of the Palaces, but, what matters far more, of the persons attached to them, yourself included, as you were all entirely unaware of Our intention. And if we are anxious about you and the persons of Our household, as having been ignorant, We repeat it, of Our idea, much more are We anxious to commend to the gentlemen aforesaid the quiet and good order of the whole city.

"November 24. 1848. Pius PP. IX."

When the news of the Pontiff's departure spread through Rome, the inhabitants were at once excited by conflicting sentiments and ideas. There were a few, who gave signs of glee. The greater number were downcast or in suspense: and those very persons who had stirred up the passions of the people, seemed uneasy at their own success. The Ministry forthwith published a Proclamation, in which they declared that the Pontiff had quitted Rome "carried away by pernicious counsels;" and that the Government would watch over the maintenance of order, and rely upon the people: while they made the Presidents of the Provinces acquainted with the event, and recommended to them every possible care for the public tranquillity.

Mamiani, who originally had not accepted the offer of official power, when he had learned the Pontiff's departure, and taken into view the serious risk, which

the State incurred, of remaining without a Government, gave way to repeated solicitations, and entered the Administration in the capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Council of Deputies met at the usual hour. Sturbinetti, the President, exhorted them to be firm; and Galletti, presenting himself before them when assembled, magnified the importance of the note of His Holiness to Sacchetti, in these terms:—"I hold that this is of great moment; because it decides that the Ministry is properly in power, and it thus constitutes, so to speak, something like an universal warranty; so that if to-day, or if to-morrow, we do all that the circumstances demand, we do it not merely on the ground that such a critical juncture is not the time to study subtleties and technical regularity, but we do it on the ground likewise that we are invited to act by the Sovereign himself." Thereupon, when Sterbini had called for a vote of the members to attest their confidence in the administration, the Prince of Canino mounted the Tribune, where he vented inflammatory language, and argued that if the 'ministers of the people' desired to earn their confidence, they should forthwith proclaim 'the Sacrosanct Constituent for Italy.' To this Mamiani replied, endeavouring, by the best means he could devise, to lay the storm: and he averred, that the plan of a Federation was first and foremost in his thoughts. But Canino resumed his gabbling, denounced that bastard notion, and trumpeted the "Constituent," chosen for all Italy, and by direct and universal suffrage.

Then interposed Galletti, studious, as his fashion was, to please every body: and he proceeded to hold forth in the sense of condemning Federation, without approving the Constituent: whereupon Canino himself, who had gained the end which always lay nearest his heart, namely, that of making a noise, took to cheering Galletti, and spoke no more. A Committee was then appointed to frame a Proclamation to the inhabitants of the State; and when, after a short interval, it was presented to be read, although Canino grumbled anew because there was not a syllable about his magical "Constituent," yet it was approved by every body but him only; while he declared that he prided himself upon his dissent in the face of Italy. The terms, in which the Council of Deputies addressed the inhabitants of the Papal States, were as follows:—

"You will plainly perceive that, in the absence of the Sovereign, the Government of the State continues to reside in the lawful authorities as before.

"The Council of Deputies, ever firm in the discharge of its functions, is in cordial agreement with the Ministry, which the Holy Father has placed in power, and to which, in his own absence, he has commended the duty of defending public order. Accordingly, after having by unanimous vote resolved to co-operate assiduously, and with all its might, in every commendable measure of the Government, it adds its own voice to theirs, in exhorting the people of Rome, and of all the Provinces, now, more than ever, to give signal proof of their civil courage and wisdom; remembering before all things, that no less a matter than the union, the harmony, and the liberation of all Italy depends in a very great degree on their present union and harmony.

"The Council of Deputies, in its own name, and in the name of the Ministry, assures the people of its indefatigable solicitude to give prompt realisation to the dearest hopes of our common country."

The High Council assembled on the 26th. Two of its members, Professor Narducci and the Prince Spada, had resigned; twenty-one attended; Mamiani gave an account of the proceedings of the Government and of the Council of Deputies; and, in suitable language, he exhorted those present to succour their country by their political wisdom and their energetic exertions. Monsignor Gnoli inquired, whether the Ministry intended to acknowledge the authority of the High Council; whether they were able to give more distinct information respecting the actual circumstances of the country, and the route of the Sovereign; and finally, whether they proposed to send him assurances of respect and obedience, with entreaties for his return among his people. Mamiani replied, that the forms and institutions of the Government were unchanged; so that the authority of the High Council, and the deference of the Ministry towards it, were unchanged likewise; that there were no certain tidings of the Sovereign's route, and that consequently they could not proceed forthwith to settle the form of the petition which was suggested by Gnoli. The Prince Corsini was satisfied; and subjoined, that he approved of the views of the administration, not only in his character as a Member of the Council, but also as Senator of Rome. Gnoli himself likewise expressed his satisfaction and his confidence. In order

to strengthen the High Council in its intention of supporting the Ministry and the State, now in such danger, both by vote and action, the Prince Odescalchi, a Vice-President, rose, and stated that two days before he had inquired of the Sovereign what the High Council ought to do in a contingency of that nature; and that the Pontiff had answered, it was his unconditional wish that public affairs should suffer no delay, but should be disposed of with the utmost possible expedition; and the High Council was, accordingly, under all circumstances to proceed in its deliberations without the slightest intermission. Hence, as Prince Odescalchi argued, they were bound to lend their assistance to the Ministry for the maintenance of order, in the tranquil assurance that they would thereby gratify and obey the Sovereign. But Folchi, the distinguished physician, remarked that it was necessary for them to know whether the Pontiff had commissioned any one to represent his temporal sovereignty; for, if this were not so, then, as it seemed to him, the very basis of constitutional government was wanting; and he so spoke as to imply that the Councils and the Ministers might select a person to discharge the functions of the Sovereign in his absence. This proposal was resisted with sound arguments by Corsini and Gnoli; and without more ado, the Council appointed Monsignor Corboli, Professor Sarti, Monsignor Mertel, Monsignor Gnoli, the Marquis Guiccioli, and the Duke Gaetani, as a committee to frame a Proclamation to the country. The last-named person ex-

cused himself, on account of a malady of the eyes. The Proclamation was of the following tenor.

"To the Inhabitants of the Papal States.

"Amidst the sorrow, with which the absence of the common Sovereign and Father fills our minds, the High Council unanimously joins its voice with that of the Council of Deputies and of the Ministry, to encourage the people in their obedience, and to confirm them in the desire for the preservation of public tranquillity. Concord among the established orders of the State is the very life of the State itself, amidst troubles of whatever kind: and towards this concord the High Council assuredly will not fail to contribute its share, as it will resolutely co-operate in all that may be proposed for the advantage and security of our country. You, the people, will remember, that the tranquillity of the Papal States is requisite not only to uphold that character for civil wisdom and virtue that you bear in the world, but it is also needful to maintain and further the fortunes of Italy, her greatness and independence, and the general peace."

At the sitting on the 27th, the Council of Deputies, on a motion by the Minister of Finance, authorized the creation of Treasury bonds to the amount of 600,000 crowns, secured on public property; a resolution which the High Council adopted at its sitting on the 29th, when it likewise enacted that all exceptional jurisdiction in criminal causes should cease, in terms of the Fundamental Statute, as well as that of the *Sacra Consulta* over political offences.

On the 1st of December Mamiani produced his plan for a Constituent Assembly, which was to be charged with the formation of such a Federal pact as, while respecting the separate existence of each Italian

State, and leaving unchanged their forms of government and fundamental laws, should serve to secure the freedom, union, and independence, and to promote the welfare, of the nation at large. In deference to the times, and to the tyranny of party, he had submitted to call by the name of a Constituent Assembly the Federal Congress already projected by Gioberti, by Rosmini, and by himself: promoted, moreover, in another shape by Rossi, and accepted in some points by the Pope. But still Mamiani had maintained intact the principle of the independence of the individual States, dissenting, in this particular, from the opinions and aims of those who propounded a Constituent Assembly paramount to all thrones and constitutions, as the instrument and centre of unity. This discrepancy between the notion conceived by Mamiani, and that about which the stir was made in Tuscany, and which was inscribed on the colours of the agitators, became evident from his own construction of it: while his desire of an agreement with the other States of the Peninsula was manifest from this, that according to his proposal every State was to elect its own representatives in the manner preferred by its own Government and Parliament. Lastly, he had an evident solicitude to please the Piedmontese Government, which, far from wishing for political Congresses, wanted alliances for the war: and in this view Mamiani came to the conclusion that the Assembly should forthwith take into its consideration such provisions, common to all, as were required by the urgency of the circumstances, and necessary for the early and

full attainment of national independence. The Council of Deputies received with favour a scheme of this nature, and in the meanwhile applied itself to the discussion of bills which had already been submitted to it, on the Civic Guard, on specific entails, and on matters of social economy: inquiries and debates, on which the High Council likewise was employed. But the attention of the Deputies, the Members of the High Council, and the citizens, was not so occupied in subjects of this kind, as not to be yet more engrossed with the thought of the perils that impended over the country. The news from Gaeta, whither it was already rumoured that the Pontiff had retired, was expected with a gloomy anxiety; that voice was waited for, which so often had sounded in the public ear, as a benediction pronounced upon peace and liberty, but which then, as men feared, was about to utter wrath and cursing, and to portend the heaviest calamity. Amidst these anticipations, the following Brief reached Rome on the 3rd of December.

"PIUS PAPA IX.

"To His dearly beloved Subjects.

"The acts of violence committed against Us within these last days, and the indications of a disposition to break out into others like them (which may God, by inspiring sentiments of gentleness and moderation into the minds of men, avert), have forced Us to withdraw, for the moment, from our subjects and sons, whom We still as ever love. Among the motives which have led Us to this step, God knoweth how grievous to our heart, one of the highest importance is, that We may have full freedom in the exercise of the supreme

powers of the Holy See: an exercise, which the Catholic world might reasonably suppose to be hampered under the existing circumstances. Now, if such violence must needs be a source of great bitterness to Us, immeasurably is it aggravated, when we reflect upon that taint of ingratitude which a set of perverse men have contracted in the face of Europe and of the world; much more, then, when we remember the stain imprinted on their souls by the Divine displeasure, which sooner or later gives effect to the censures awarded by His Church.

"In the ingratitude of our children We recognise the hand of the Lord, smiting Us because He requires satisfaction for our sins, and for those of the people; but We could not, without betrayal of our duty, refrain from a solemn protestation in the face of mankind — even as, on that fatal evening of the 16th of November itself, and on the morning of the 17th, We protested verbally, in presence of the diplomatic body, which worthily encircled Us, and was of so much use in strengthening our heart — that We have suffered an unheard of and sacrilegious violence. This protest We hereby formally reiterate in our existing situation; namely, that We have succumbed to coercion; and We accordingly declare all the acts which have flowed therefrom to be of no sort of force or legality.

"The stern truths and the protestations now uttered have been wrung from our lips by the wickedness of others, and by our own conscience, which under our present circumstances has forcibly urged Us to the discharge of our duty.

"We trust, however, that it will be permitted to Us in the sight of God, while We invite and entreat Him to assuage His wrath, to commence our prayer with the words of a holy King and Prophet: 'Lord, remember David, and all his meekness.'

"Meantime, having it at heart not to leave the administration of our State of Rome without a head, We do constitute an Executive Commission of Government, composed of the following persons: —

" Cardinal Castracane.
Monsignor Roberto Roberti.
Prince Ruviano.
Prince Barberini.
Marquis Bevilacqua, of Bologna.
Marquis Ricci, of Macerata.
Lieutenant-General Zucchi.

" While We intrust to the said Executive Commission the temporary administration of public affairs, We commend to all our subjects and children the maintenance of peace and order.

" Lastly, We will and enjoin that daily and fervent prayers be offered to God for our own unworthy person, and for the restoration of peace to the world, especially to our dominions, and to Rome, where our heart will ever remain, in whatever portion of Christendom We may be harboured. While We, setting an example to others, as befits our Supreme Priesthood, most devoutly invoke the Immaculate Virgin, and Great Mother of Mercy, together with the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, in order that, as is our ardent desire, the indignation of Almighty God may be removed from off the city of Rome and the entire state.

" Dated at Gaeta, on the 27th of November, in the year MDCCCXLVIII. " PIUS PAPA IX."

It was on Sunday that the tidings of this Brief were received in Rome; and the inhabitants, who were traversing the city in large numbers, as is customary on festivals, eagerly questioned one another, with looks of surprise, and muttered misgivings. The popular leaders sped to their clubs to recommend firmness, and from thence spread about the streets and open places, cheerful in aspect, but alarmed in heart, bewildered in mind, and uncertain what to do. In the meantime they gave out, that the Brief was of doubtful authenticity; and even those who admitted it to be authentic, asserted its nullity, inasmuch as it was not

validated by the signature of a responsible Minister; while they concurred in vituperating the Commission, and broached proposals for repudiating its authority. The Ministers, desirous of such accommodations as might hinder popular commotion, through the Senator Corsini, and through trusty friends, sounded the dispositions of Cardinal Castracane and Monsignor Roberti. Cardinal Castracane, Monsignor Roberti, Prince Barberini, and Prince Ruviano, were at Rome: Zucchi, Bevilacqua, and Ricci absent. Cardinal Castracane was a priest of rare piety, a model of good morals, and of Catholic zeal: he had at no time mixed in political affairs, and possibly he was appointed to that supreme office from his having a reputation for great strictness. But he was likewise reputed to be anti-liberal; to such a degree, indeed, as was said, that he was averse to the very innovations that Pius had introduced, and even to the independence of the nation. On this head there was a story of his having intimated to certain distinguished ladies, who had gone to beg of him for Venice, that they were about a business neither salutary to the State, nor meritorious for their own souls. Prince Barberini, though a man of sense and virtue, was not inclined either to liberal habits of life, or to a popular constitution. This, again, the Prince Ruviano sturdily opposed: a man of narrow mind, big only in its pride; upright, stubborn, versed in business, and with a character for courage much beyond his desert. Monsignor Roberti, formerly Auditor* of the Privy Chamber, was

* See Book I. Chapter XI.

learned in jurisprudence, and in esteem for probity, benevolent temper, and moderate opinions. Ricci, of Macerata, acted with the Liberals in 1831, and was for some time an exile: an honourable and gentle, but flexible person. Bevilacqua, of Bologna, was the most remarkable of them all for talent, knowledge, and resolution. He had been, some time back, the object of calumny at Bologna, where it was asserted that he was shy of popular institutions, and but lukewarm in his attachment to national independence. But after it became manifest from indubitable proofs, that he was second to none in the warmth of his desire for the latter, and that freedom had no more sincere or determined friend, the Bolognese, aware of the nobleness of his disposition, of the excellence of his cultivated abilities, and of his expertness in public affairs, esteemed him as among the best men of the community. Thus the Commission, to which the Pontiff entrusted the direction of the State, was made up of various and conflicting elements; but, as regarded personal character, all its members were respectable. The anti-liberal portion preponderated in numbers and in rank, and were on this account badly received: and even those members who had feelings in favour of Italy and of freedom, were ill endured by the agitators; Zucchi, as an associate of Rossi, and for having crushed sedition at Bologna; Ricci, because he had the name of a Moderate, which already stank in their nostrils beyond every other; Bevilacqua lastly, because, after the enormities of the 15th and 16th of November, he had resigned his office as a Deputy, and had quitted Rome.

During the interval in which the citizens were awaiting, tranquilly but in suspense, the consequences which might follow upon the Papal Brief, and the Club of the People was preparing the way for its own domination by inflaming the public mind against the Commission nominated by the Pope, the Deputies went about discussing in private the measures which they considered suitable to guarantee the State against aggravated calamity. It had now plainly become an impossibility so to recall to moderation the temper of the subversive party as to make them pay obedience to the will of the Sovereign, or defer to the authority of those whom he had deputed to govern; while, on the other hand, it was perilous to march further, under the impulse of the clubs, along the downward course to rebellion. Accordingly, the majority thought it a prudent plan to try and come to some understanding with the Papal Commissioners, to stipulate for the provisional confirmation of the actual Ministers, who were still popular with the turbulent, and to consider of such measures as might avail to open the way to an accommodation with the Sovereign. Cardinal Castracane, whether from the fear of popular resentment, or the want of fixed purpose, gave a kind reception and hearing to all who repaired to him, but did not appear either very jealous for his own authority, or resolved to wield it with those comprehensive views which the crisis required. Monsignor Roberti was not less in doubt, and wavered more: he would intimate, how sensible he was of the weight of the charge which had unexpectedly

devolved upon him, while he was still disposed to the obedience which his character as a Prelate demanded. It was hard to say what plan Barberini would adopt: some said he did not mean to accept, and was on the move from Rome. Ruviano complained bitterly, that the Pope should, without any intimation to him, thus have set him on thorns: resolved to decline, he took to preparing for departure, and did, in process of time, actually set out in the direction of Tuscany.

The Ministers, whose own legal authority was founded exclusively on the Pope's nomination, and who, after his departure, had vaunted the importance of the note to Sacchetti, in which he appeared to renew it, now found themselves constitutionally ousted by the Brief from Gaeta. Mamiani, who was the only person of weight in the administration on the score of abilities, knowledge, or eloquence, had conceived a project for putting a very speedy termination to the growing discords of extreme parties, lest they should reach to such a height that any remedy would come too late; for meeting the necessarily precarious, nay, perilous, condition of political affairs, and the impracticable expectations of extreme parties, with an augmented attention to public order and tranquillity, and the greatest possible union and harmony among all the constituted authorities; and for encountering the imputations of the diplomatic body, and the hostile arms of foreigners, with the plea of right, the minute observance of legality, and a scrupulous respect to religion and to public worship. With these views, which he set forth in a note to the diplomatic

body, he had undertaken the Government. In that note he stated, that he had not arrived in Rome until several days after the deeds of violence done on the 16th November, and that he had not accepted the administration, which the Sovereign had offered him by a dispatch from the Cardinal Secretary of State, until he had seen the country in extreme risk of being without a Government at all, and the Ministers confirmed afresh in office by an autograph of the Holy Father, which commended to them, in a marked manner, the public peace and order. Mamiani spoke in stringent terms of the assassination of Rossi, and of the tumult of the 16th November. As to the former, he declared his heartfelt anxiety, that vigorous and prompt proceedings should be taken for the discovery and punishment of the offenders. Then addressing himself to a discussion of the causes, both remote and proximate, of the recent disastrous events, he observed, that the diplomatic body should recollect, that it was a desire of long standing on the part of the people duly to adjust the relation of the temporal and the spiritual power, and that a thorough and complete separation should be made between the two; with the reservation, that both should continue to reside in the same august person. In order, he said, to the peaceable and permanent solution of such a problem, there was needed a spirit of reciprocal forbearance, conciliation, patience, and above all the placid influence of time and the growth of new habits and new interests; for the passions of the two extreme parties in Rome had brought about collisions; and

the disappointed sentiment of nationality had aggravated their sharpness and intensity. Hence, he inferred, that the disorders of the Roman States had their root in a defect both fundamental and perpetual, which could neither be shirked nor surmounted by any diplomatic compromise; that the pressure of arms might, indeed, hold down, but could not shatter, those elastic forces which, by a stern necessity of things, had withstood the winning and gentle strength of the evangelical virtues, the tried benevolence, the unbounded mildness, of the Sovereign Pontiff, and had even prevailed against the grateful affection which his subjects felt towards the august inaugurator of their national regeneration.

Inasmuch as the Protest, dated from Gaeta on the 27th of November, annulled all acts which took their origin from the tumultuous proceedings of the 16th of that month, the projects of Mamiani lost all the weight that accompanies apparent legality. On this account he proposed to his colleagues, that they should forthwith resign their offices to the Holy Father. Thus, on the 3rd of December, Rome was on the point of losing an administration which existed both in law and in fact: while the Commission, which was endowed with a right to govern, said nothing, settled nothing, and, when questioned, made scanty reply; nor, perhaps, would the subversive party have allowed it to speak, decide, or act. Moreover, the departure of Ruviano had reduced it to less than one-half of its complement; so that there was a doubt whether its authority were not even on this ground invalidated.

The Assemblies accordingly began to think of meeting for business, and there was a plan for a secret sitting on that very evening, the 3rd of December. It was a prudent design to meet and deliberate with closed doors, amidst so much public excitement and at so grave a juncture, but for this, that the clubs and the agitators would not brook the measure, for in truth they had the upper hand, and knew they had it; such was the supineness of many citizens, the timidity of some, the disorderliness of the scanty soldiery, and the want of energy on all sides alike.

The Deputies accordingly met for business at a quarter past eleven at night, with the public admitted. Sturbinetti, the President, made an address on the subject of the Pope's Protest, and sought by arguments, some of them over-refined, to demonstrate that it ought not to be deemed of any force, because it had not the counter-signature of a responsible Minister, and was framed, beyond the frontier, in a territory and at a place where the Sovereign might well be presumed to have acted under coercion. He then set himself to give a summary narrative of the recent events at Rome; and this he glozed as he best could, in order that the sentence of indignant Europe might not be so adverse as it was already rumoured to be. Then, colouring highly the intrigues which he affirmed to have been got up for plunging Rome into anarchy, he in conclusion recommended the concord and union requisite to baffle them, and wound up a prolonged discourse in the following words.

"Diplomacy, ever darkling in its intrigues, ventured on the stroke of tearing the Pontiff from us, in order that through his remoteness internal disturbances might be kindled, the Capital and the Provinces split into factions, and a civil war commenced, which might afford a pretext for calling in foreign arms, under the mask of restoring order. These intrigues have failed of success, because the people have known how to maintain a truly admirable behaviour. A second step has been attempted; attempted through the medium of this document.* It is our part to endeavour, that this second proceeding likewise may fail to afford any plea for attaining so culpable an end; but at the same time we must devise such provisions as may preserve the integrity of our rights and those of the people, and may consolidate that freedom to which the people have a title, not conferred by Princes, but the gift of God."

Having thus spoken, he invited the Deputies to state such proposals as they might consider opportune; and, after a long discussion, the following, moved by Pantaleoni, and in some parts amended by Canino, and by Armellini, were adopted.

"1. That the Council of Deputies notices, that the document which purports to have been signed by the Pontiff at Gaeta, on the 27th of November, has not on that account any character either of authenticity, or of regular publication; and that even if it were not defective in this point, yet as it does not in any manner satisfy the conditions of constitutional rule, to which the Sovereign is no less subject than the Nation, attention accordingly cannot be paid to it: while on the other hand, the Council, being bound to defer to the law of necessity, and to the need of having a government, declares that the existing ministers shall continue in the exercise of all their functions, until other provision shall be made.

* The Protest from Gaeta.

"2. That a Deputation of the Council be sent forthwith to his Holiness to invite him either to return to Rome, or through some other means to supply the void created by the absence of the Head of the Executive.

"3. That the High Council be invited to make a like declaration, and to contribute some of its members to make up the Deputation which is to be dispatched to His Holiness.

"4. That a Proclamation be addressed to the people of Rome and of the States, to apprise them of the measures taken by the Council of Deputies; and likewise to the Civic Guards, to enjoin upon them the defence of public order, and the maintenance of the liberties and fundamental laws of the State."

The Deputation to His Holiness was composed of Professor Rezzi, an Abate of Rome, and Doctor Fusconi of Ravenna; and, by a new Proclamation, the people were informed of the resolutions that had been adopted.

On the 4th, the High Council likewise determined, after a short debate, that the Ministry should continue to exercise its authority, that a Deputation should be sent to the Holy Father, and a Proclamation addressed to the people and to the Civic force, to acquaint them of the good understanding between the Councils and the Ministers, and to keep them to their allegiance. Monsignor Mertel and the Marquis Paolucci were chosen for the deputation to the Pope. The Municipality of Rome, too, resolved to send its first magistrate, the Senator Corsini, to the Sovereign; and the three Deputations, in full concert with the Ministry, determined upon setting out at once for Gaeta, with the intention of making known to the

Pontiff the condition of the city, of stating to him that his proclamation, instead of soothing, had exasperated the public, and of requesting and beseeching that he would make up his mind to try conciliatory measures, and would return to the capital, or else select for his residence some other city of his dominions; or that if he would do neither, he would at least appoint a Commission of Government, with such powers as would enable it to supply the place of the Sovereign during his absence, according to the rules and usages of Constitutional States. These Deputations were likewise to vindicate the Assemblies against whatever charges might have been laid to their account; to point out, that they had been obliged to acknowledge those Ministers who had come before them with letters of nomination subscribed by the Cardinal Secretary of State, and to re-affirm their title, in order to avoid greater evils, with greater troubles and excesses. These envoys were persons of such a description, that it might reasonably be hoped they would be well received, both on their own account, and on account of the errand on which they went. The Prince Tommaso Corsini, now four-score, could not be suspected of revolutionary and democratic opinions, although he might seem more pliable to popular caprice and to the airs of democracy, than suited the gravity of his age and rank. As Senator of Rome, he represented at the feet of the Pontiff the city which had offered him injury and violence. Monsignor Mertel, a Prelate, member of the Council of State and of the High Council, was deemed a person

of moderate opinions and good understanding; and no one called in question his entire respect and loyalty to his Pontiff and Sovereign. The Marquis Paolucci, of Forlì, a man who had grown grey in public business, and in office both municipal and political, was known for his probity and temperate disposition, as well as for his unshaken allegiance to the Holy See. The Abate Rezzi, an ex-Jesuit, Librarian to Corsini, a professor of elocution, had, it is true, since innovation had gathered an impetus, given signs of liberal opinions, yet no one could hold him for a lover of dangerous change. Doctor Fusconi, of Ravenna, an exile in 1821, then in 1827, then in 1831, had but recently returned from the Ionian Islands, where he had spent sixteen years of banishment in making honourable provision for his character and livelihood, by the practice of medicine, and by his upright conduct: on his arrival in Rome, he had so behaved as to retain credit with the moderate party, and to acquire the esteem of the Sovereign and the Court, without becoming odious to the democrats.

The Deputation thus composed set out for Gaeta early on the 5th of December.

CHAP. II.

ACCOUNT OF THE POPE'S DEPARTURE FROM ROME. — OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE OCCURRENCES OF THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER. — THE FOREIGN MINISTERS. — THE DUC D'HARCOURT. — MARTINEZ DE LA ROSA. — COUNT SPAUR. — HIS WIFE. — PARETO. — BARGAGLI. — PADRE VENTURA. — CASTELLANI, THE VENETIAN ENVOY. — HIS PRUDENT PROCEEDINGS, AND THOSE OF HIS GOVERNMENT. — TEXT OF AN ADDRESS FROM MANIN TO THE POPE. — AUTOGRAPH NOTE OF THE POPE TO VENICE. — LETTER ADDRESSED BY CASTELLANI TO THE POPE. — NOTICE OF OTHER LETTERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF HIS. — REMARKS UPON THEM. — PARAGRAPH FROM A LETTER OF CASTELLANI ON THE EVENTS OF NOV. 15 AND 16. — OTHER EXTRACTS FROM HIS OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE. — IDEAS AND PLANS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND SOME CONSTITUTIONALISTS. — SUSPICIONS AND WATCHFULNESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. — CARDINAL ANTONELLI: HIS CONVERSATION. — DEFINITIVE PREPARATIONS AND DECISIONS. — POLITICAL REMARKS. — OCCASION AFFORDED TO THE FOREIGN POWERS TO TURN TO THEIR OWN ACCOUNT THE EVENTS AT ROME. — PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE JOURNEY OF THE POPE AND HIS ATTENDANTS. — CENSORIOUS CRITICISM. — ARRIVAL AT GAETA. — THE KING OF NAPLES. — DISPATCH OF THE PROTEST, AND ACCOMPANYING MEASURES. — LETTER NOMINATING THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSIONERS. — THE DEPUTIES OF THE PARLIAMENT AND MUNICIPALITY REPELLED FROM THE NEAPOLITAN FRONTIER. — THEIR REPRESENTATION TO CARDINAL ANTONELLI AND HIS REPLY. — REMARKS THEREON.

BEFORE our narrative follows the track of the Deputies, now on their way from Rome to the Pope, it is right to give some further detailed account of the preparations, views, and incidents connected with

the departure and the journey of His Holiness, and with his arrival at Gaeta.

It will appear natural enough to all whose judgment is not clouded by partiality, that Pius IX. should determine upon quitting Rome. Those who laid such a determination to the account of evil counsellors, either in their simplicity forgot, or in their hypocrisy pretended to forget, the blood-stained dagger of the 15th of November, the deadly violences of the 16th, and the vaunted triumph of the people. Could the worsted Pontiff bow in humiliation to such a loss of authority and dignity? Could he entrust himself, and his freedom as the Apostle and the Head of Catholicism, to the good faith of the men who stormed the Quirinal? When, on the evening of the 16th of November, he had addressed to the Foreign Ministers who surrounded him the words which I recited in the last Book, it is plain that he meant to invite them to aid him both by advice and action. The Duc d'Harcourt was the French ambassador, Martinez de la Rosa the Spanish, the Count de Spaur the Bavarian; and the last, in the absence of the Austrian Minister, discharged the duties which belonged to that Legation. The Duc d'Harcourt, as a gentleman of a nature frank, generous and lively, with perhaps a dash of levity, as is common with the French, and of opinions sincerely liberal, besides his profound indignation at the outrages committed, felt a reverential commiseration for the Pope, and devoted himself to him accordingly, that is to say, both to encouraging him, and to procuring him encouragement from the French republic. Martinez de

la Rosa, as an upright and liberal-minded man, and a poet of vigorous fancy, was disturbed in mind, and heated in imagination, by that dismal sight of the Vicar of Christ chained to the car of a popular triumph. His Castilian pride, his poetical enthusiasm, his Catholic zeal, kindled into flame; and if amidst that redundancy of emotions he could listen at all to the dictates of political expediency, perhaps there may have shot across his excited mind the hope of deserving so well at the Pontiff's hands, as to incline him to those accommodations with his own country which he had in view. Spaur, almost a Roman through long residence, fixed habits, and his Roman marriage, loathed the Italian revolution even before it had run into such excess; while as a German, an agent for Austria, and an anti-liberal politician, which he was, he had at all times caballed against it, as far as circumstances, together with cunning and practice in intrigue, which served him instead of knowledge and ability, would permit. His wife lent him the effective assistance of an ardent susceptibility; which, on the decline of her much-courted beauty, had betaken itself to the poetry of a fashionable and ostentatious devotion, and to the interests of the party which affects the name of Catholic. These foreign ministers were ready and devoted counsellors and allies: those of Italy were less acceptable and less available; Pareto, because now for some time the Court of Rome had borne no good will to the King of Sardinia, and because Pareto himself had pleaded with great force for the war of independence; Bargagli, the Tus-

can, because the policy of Tuscany too was in disgrace, while he himself was taxed among the courtiers with being over accessible to the impulses of innovation. Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister, was absent; nor is it known to me what share the Legation of Naples took in the councils of the diplomatists. This, however, I can affirm, that if Pareto and Bargagli took but little part, yet they neither were less attached to the Pontiff than the foreigners, nor did they less commiserate his lot; but they were more alive to, and more afflicted by, the evils which impended over his dominions and over Italy. Padre Ventura, who acted as the representative of Sicily, sympathised with the Pope's calamities; and, warm as was his democratic and Italian temperament, he prognosticated evil from the violent subversion of the government. Castellani, a young man of a disposition as fine as his talents, which he had ripened with solid acquirements, was Envoy for Venice. And here I ought to say of him, and of his high-minded country, that in all the negotiations conducted at Rome they gave proof of rare prudence and virtue. Castellani had been dispatched into Central Italy near the end of March. Repairing to Bologna, he there obtained a grant of arms, and accelerated the setting out of General Ferrari for Venezia. In Florence he had assured Ridolfi, Capponi, and the other distinguished men who reflect honour on Tuscany, that Venice was prepared to make every kind of sacrifice for the common welfare. He then went to Rome, to promote an Italian Federation under the auspices of the Pontiff. Happening

to arrive there on the 29th of April, he prompted the Sardinian and Tuscan Ministers to recommend to Pius IX. the interests of Italy. Admitted, on the 7th of May, to an audience, he addressed the Pope in respectful and appropriate language on the gravity of the juncture, and was most graciously received and heard.

The provisional Government of the Venetian Republic had, on the 6th, framed the following address.

"Most Blessed Father,

"We trust that the afflictions recently heaped on the head of your Holiness may by this time be in some measure alleviated, and the conformity of the generous desires of your Holiness to the interests of Italy placed beyond dispute. When your Holiness shall be aware of the straits in which we stand, and how the arms, that have received Your benediction, are resisted by an enemy full of threats and cruelty, who makes religion to-day his tool, and to-morrow his victim, all hesitation will assuredly be at an end, and the voice of Pius will be raised in our aid with a compassionate boldness. War is already declared, nay, it already rages; to draw back would derogate from the dignity of that principle, so dear to your Holiness, which is the salvation of the world; while it would in no degree abate existing evils. We commend to the heart of your Holiness the thousands, yea, the millions of the guiltless who are in peril, who will be plundered, ravished, murdered, burned, by the impious foe: we commend the Priests, who, with the cross upon their breasts, have hazarded their lives in the name of Pius, and who would fall by the sword or beneath the axe: we commend the temples, whose desecration already has begun; and this land of Italy, itself one splendid temple of the living God, the residence wherein of the insulting stranger is but a standing blasphemy. Holy Father! we intreat your benediction.

"MANIN, President."

Venice was dear to Pius IX.; and Castellani had acquired his favour to such a degree that, when taking leave of him on the 27th of June, he obtained a rare proof of it, namely, that the Pontiff, on being requested, addressed the following words in his own handwriting to the Venetian government:—

"May God give His blessing to Venice, and deliver her from the evils that she apprehends"—

(what she apprehended was, falling again under Austrian domination—)

in such mode as, in the infinite resources of His Providence, shall to Him seem good.

"Pius PP. IX."

27 June, 1848.

Castellani returned to Rome in July; but when the union of Venice with Piedmont took effect, his diplomatic functions determined. He resumed them on the 11th of August, when, after the disasters of Custoza and Milan, Venice anew vindicated her independence: and again he conducted himself officially with consummate prudence. After the events of the 15th and 16th of November, he wrote as follows to the Holy Father:—

"Most Blessed Father,

"Amidst the majestic sorrows which encircle the sacred Person of your Holiness, I am come, a sharer in their bitterness, to place at Your disposal my whole strength, whether for counsel or for action. As the organ of a people which has ever blessed Your name, and of a Government which amidst the bewilderment of these times has not forgotten to combine the development of the rights of the Church with that of

civil liberty, I conceive that I hereby fulfil one of my most exalted duties. As an individual, I cherish in the depths of my soul the remembrance of Your gracious reception: and I make bold to prostrate myself before you, as a son, who seeks to mitigate the griefs of his Father by evincing the intensity of his attachment.

"The Almighty, most Holy Father, watches over His Vicar: and He also wills the deliverance of Italy. His rigours, in your calamities, and in the misfortunes of our country, perhaps may cover mysteries of profound mercy. Until these shall be accomplished, may Your pure spirit never desist, on account of present sufferings, from imitating Him, Who spoke pardon from the very Cross. Afterwards He rose again; and with Him the world. We, too, most Blessed Father, lead a life of tears. Our city is become a spectacle both of glory and of desolation. Your affection spends itself in vain upon the brothers, whose name and hopes we are defending; and those Christians have forgotten us, of whose Faith, in barbarous times, we were the saviours. And Venice, despite all this, continues to pray, to pardon, and to hope.

"O most Blessed Father! those consolations, which grief receives from the unhappy, often prove the most trusted and most precious. Give us, O Father of the faithful, your benediction; and may God accept my petitions for the well-being of your Person, and for the glory of your Pontificate.

"G. B. CASTELLANI."

On the 20th of November, he wrote afresh to the Pontiff, avowing "that the proceedings of the 16th had unwarrantably infringed the rights of his sovereignty, and had compromised the dignity of the Popedom in the face of Europe." He then proposed such arrangements as, in his judgment, were suited to vindicate the dignity of the Sovereign, to save the throne, and to hinder the advance of revolution.

It is material to preserve a record of these views and acts of the representative of the Venetian Republic: first, because they should serve to prove to foreigners, that they have not stood alone in the condemnation of outrage, and in cheering the Pope with their reverence and deferential advice: and further, inasmuch as the evidence of a respected republican is weighty beyond all other testimony against those, who would have had the world believe that, after the 16th of November, Pius IX. enjoyed full freedom. To his own Government Castellani addressed this independent language:—

"I anticipate only evil; and even if mistaken, yet I could not rely on any good that might accrue from an assassination, to a people which has not recoiled from accepting its fearful responsibility. And when I reflect on these acts of barbarism, and on this lack of public morality in the city which is called the central point of Italy, I hide my face for shame, and I pray that the just indignation of civilised countries may not identify us with such a populace."

And if any doubt can still remain on the reader's mind, as to the credit which has been given to the asseverations of others respecting the non-existence of republican plots and respecting the peacefulness and harmlessness of the rioters, every such doubt will be dismissed, upon perusing what I now extract from the official correspondence of the same Representative of Venice. On the 7th of September he had already written "that every one talked of the republican plot; that its heads were pointed out, and just so much known about it as sufficed to magnify both fear and

hope." And on the 22nd of November, he apprised his Government, that the heads of the movement had applied to him for his opinion whether the season were come for proclaiming a Republic, and that he had answered in the negative, prophesying that "to the cheers upon the birth of a Republic, the cannon of an invading army would be the response."

Such were the efforts, such the views, of the diplomatists present in Rome, as far as I have been able to gather them from irrefragable testimony and documents; nor do I make any affirmation on doubtful points, choosing rather that my narrative should be incomplete, than to tell tales at random and give to popular reports the dignity of history.

Nor was it the ambassadors alone, but the relatives also and attendants of the Pope, who were aware of his serious deliberations, and of the necessity of bringing them to an issue. Even among the Constitutionalists, there were those who, on being made aware of his secret thoughts and sorrows, conceived there was no other way of rescuing the constitutional Throne from its dangers, than by restoring the Sovereign to such liberty as would enable him to exercise his prerogative, which in representative States is the very basis of free institutions. Among his relatives and attendants, there was constant discussion about the mode of effecting it: and the few Constitutionalists, who were admitted to confidential conversations, assented to the Pope's departure, yet considered that he ought not to quit his dominions, but to retire to Cività Vecchia, where the navies of his allies might secure him from any kind

of violence until Rome should subside into tranquillity, or until the seat of government could be shifted to Bologna, which appeared to be steady in its allegiance. Much caution was observed in holding these colloquies; because the Quirinal was jealously watched, and, since the removal of the Swiss Guard, no one could repair to the Pope without being put down among the suspected. Even from the very first, no person could enter the Quirinal without giving his name to those on duty: and the Constitutionalists were held in suspicion, more than either courtiers or Absolutists; so that those few of them, who frequented the Quirinal, received a hint to discontinue their visits, unless they wished to compromise their personal safety. These hints were given in the garb of friendly advice, being in fact an engine of terrorism that certain factions are wonderfully adroit in turning to account.

Cardinal Antonelli, who was Prefect of the Sacred Palaces, was from his rank, his acuteness, and his tried zeal, the natural person to take the charge in chief of any measures undertaken for the safety and freedom of the Pope. What dealings he may have had with foreign ministers, I am not able to say; but thus much I can aver, that this same Cardinal Antonelli did himself confidentially open his mind to some Constitutionalists, who in those days of peril were testifying their loyalty to the Sovereign, and to the Fundamental Statute. And I can testify that, with a certain person, in his own apartments (being those which Pius VII. had inhabited immediately after his return from exile),

he discussed, with easy and kindly familiarity, the manner of withdrawing Pius IX. from Rome; proposed to let him drive out some day through the city, either for recreation, or else to repair to St. Peter's, in order that thus his being seen moving outwards, on the day to be fixed for his departure, might create the less suspicion: and appeared to approve of the advice, that he should not quit his dominions, but should repair to a spot where he might nominate a Ministry and govern through it according to the Fundamental Statute; lastly, he avowed it to be desirable that some of the constitutional party should follow after the Pope, in order, as it were, to give a pledge of his firm intention to maintain the Constitution. It is well to record even these minutiæ, inasmuch as they are of a nature to assist in forming sound conclusions respecting individuals and parties.

The preparations for the departure and the journey were made by the Count Spaur, with the privity and the assistance of the Duc d'Harcourt and of Señor Martinez della Rosa.

The definitive decision was taken secretly by these foreign ministers, with the Pontiff himself and Cardinal Antonelli. All three were thoroughly devoted and zealous; all three recommended departure; but, agreed up to this point, they were not similarly agreed in the choice of the spot to which Pius IX. should repair. The Duc d'Harcourt wished him to be in the charge of France, Martinez della Rosa in that of Spain. It does not seem that Spaur gave any express opinion; but it subsequently became plain, that he wished to

bring him into the Neapolitan dominions. The Pope showed an inclination to accept the offer of French shelter and aid; but the uncertain state of the French Government kept his decision in suspense. The election of a President of the Republic was close at hand; Pius IX. trusted Cavaignac, and did not trust his rival, Buonaparte: time, however, would be the best counsellor; and this, accordingly, might be gained in some sort of neutral sojourn before setting foot in France. The offers, again, of Catholic Spain, were most acceptable, but the continental Spanish territory was remote: the Balearic Isles were nearer, and there a halt might be made; but there was no Spanish steamer ready to sail for them; he might in the meantime land in some port of a neighbouring State, such as Gaeta, whither the Spanish vessel might come to take him on board. It was thought that at all events preparations for departure should be made by two routes, so that in case there should be obstacles to the journey on one of them, the other might be tried; and that the Duc d'Harcourt might fitly hold in readiness a French vessel at Cività Vecchia, while Martinez della Rosa should procure a Spanish one to be sent to Gaeta. Thus both the ambassadors were satisfied. The one thought, that the honour and the boast of sheltering the Pontiff within her territory was already secured for Spain. The other hoped, that the route by Cività Vecchia would receive the preference, on account of its crossing over the depopulated Campagna of Rome, and being accordingly less hazardous than a road which passes

through places more or less populous to the Neapolitan frontier: and that the Pontiff once embarked on board a French vessel, he would probably sail for the French territory, or, if he should touch the Balearic Isles, he would make but a short stay there. Spaur, however, was probably best pleased of all; because he had formed his plan for withdrawing the Pope from the dangerous protection of France, and knew that if he could be got to Gaeta, King Ferdinand would understand how to keep him there. Was Cardinal Antonelli, then, in concert with Spaur and the King of Naples? From the events which ensued, we may gather grounds for such a suspicion.

The consultations and conclusions of the foreign Ministers demonstrate, that they were warrantably solicitous about the liberty and safety of the Chief of Catholicism, but that they did not sufficiently keep in view his being likewise both the temporal ruler of three millions of Italians, and a Constitutional Sovereign. Before carrying him out of the country, they ought to have considered whether no way could be found to preserve his freedom and security within it; and to have been aware, that he might enjoy the fullest security at Cività Vecchia, guarded by their naval forces. But it is too true that foreigners, conceiving the temporal sovereignty to be necessary for the independence of the Head of the Catholic Church, and not permitting it to be infringed for fear of alteration in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Catholic nations, are neglectful of the questions which grow out of its exercise, as if the finances, the

police, and the code of law, were also spiritualities. In this they evince as little of sagacity as of justice; inasmuch as, if the temporal crown be necessary for the Vicar of Christ, it must at any rate be also necessary not to cast it at the feet of political factions every other moment, but to guard and to secure it with the institutions and provisions to which every temporal crown must owe its safety. The foreign Ministers, who in the close of 1848 contrived the freedom of the Pontiff, did not keep in mind that they were carrying into exile a King, and a constitutional King too. A Pope is no exile as long as he is on Catholic soil: but a King is in banishment from the moment that he goes one step beyond the jurisdiction of his own government; and the banishment of a King is always ruinous to himself and to his subjects, while it serves the turn of nobody but factions; one of which first triumphs by the revolution, the other afterwards by the restoration. In exile he is a slave: he is a slave, too, when restored. Nor was it only their neglect, as being foreigners, of the destinies of the population committed to the temporal sway of the Church, with their scanty knowledge of the real condition of the temporal dominions of the Popes, which clouded the judgment of the foreign envoys: but the habitual lust of domination, or at the least, in their own phrase, of influence in Italy, with their reciprocal jealousies, and the garrulous vain-glory of some, the haughtiness and ill-will of others, all contributed to unwise, ungenerous, and destructive counsels. The events of Rome were of a nature for foreign nations

to turn to their own account, affording them an opportunity of cloaking their eagerness for selfish aggrandisement with zeal for Catholicism. France, who had fallen low through the Revolution of February, and yet more through the domestic carnage of June, was now enabled to lift her head with the air of a conservative Power, and to conciliate her old allies. Spain, erased through prolonged convulsion and civil war from the list of first-rate European States, and estranged from Rome by ferocious havock among priests, and by the destruction of religious orders and of ecclesiastical estates, had much need to put an end to her separation, and to recover her title of "Catholic." The profit that Austria was to derive from the occurrences at Rome, no one can fail to see. I felt it right to supply these succinct notices, in order that the record of foreign zeal may not go down to posterity with the sole epithet of Catholic attached to it, but with its full train of those political aims and aspirations, which were in truth its heart and soul.

After the 16th of November, Lambruschini, first among the Cardinals, as being the person whose life had been sought by the insurgents, and after him other Cardinals, with some Princes, and many foreigners, had quitted Rome; while more were making their preparations for departure.

It was now the evening of the 24th of November: and while Count Spaur stationed a travelling carriage outside the gates of Rome, the Holy Father, with Monsignor Stella and Cardinal Antonelli, all in disguise, issued from the Quirinal by a side-door which,

opens into an obscure alley, and, traversing the streets in an unpretending carriage, made for the spot agreed upon with Spaur. Meantime, D'Harcourt, who had gone to the Quirinal beforehand, continued there for a certain time, as if the Pope were still there, with the view of foiling the vigilance of the guard. For the same purpose, the lights were kept burning in the palace until the customary hour, and not a sign of anything strange was discernible. Later, the Duc d'Harcourt took his departure, and went post to Cività Vecchia, where, as he hoped, the Pontiff was to arrive before day. But his Holiness had taken the road which leads by Terracina to Gaeta, and he was all the time travelling along it without any mishap. Cardinal Antonelli, Monsignor Stella, and Monsignor Borromeo followed him the same night. Monsignor Della Porta, and Monsignor Piccolomini, who were privy to the escape, but not to the secret intention of it, or the point to be made for, repaired to Cività Vecchia, and from thence to Marseilles. The Countess Spaur accompanied her husband and the Pontiff; the most natural thing in the world, but one which was made the subject of ribald innuendos. In case the scurrilous comments of those on the spot, whose sense of justice and of modesty is obliterated by passion, should reach to distant lands, history is bound to certify, that no low and shameless calumny can tarnish the reputation of Pope Pius IX. for purity of life. Of his household, of his relations, of the few Constitutionalists that knew the escape was at hand, not one was invited to follow him. His nephew Luigi alone would seem to

have had certain intimations. His brother Gabriel, Rosmini, and Montanari, who held themselves in readiness, had no inkling of it until the next morning, when they set out after the fugitives, without well knowing what route to take.

Pius IX. reached Mola di Gaeta in the sacerdotal habit only, just as he had quitted Rome; and halted at a mean inn. It is said he was vexed not to find the Spanish vessel, which Martinez della Rosa had ordered to be off the coast. Spaur forthwith started for Naples: and, as is reported, conveyed to King Ferdinand a letter from the Pontiff, in which he requested hospitality for a short time. The King flew to Mola, and with every sort of reverential attention entreated the Holy Father to accept of entertainment within his Castle of Gaeta. The Pope assented, stating at the same time, that he was about to set out shortly in the direction of the Balearic Isles. If we are told that this prompt appearance of King Ferdinand, his ample proffers, and his devout homage, sprang from Catholic zeal, still it should not be forgotten, that he is as wily as other folks, and that he may well have had it at heart to gain the countenance of the Chief of Catholicism, and to rear his head anew as an absolute Sovereign under the very eye of the Vicar of that Triune God, whom he had invoked in the solemn adjuration of the Constitutional Statute. Much more has been reported, respecting the communications he held beforehand with Spaur and Antonelli, as well as about his opening conversations with the Holy Father, and the arts he employed

to detain him; and the ensuing circumstances might lead us to give credit to many of those rumours, which however, as we are without the means of proof, it would be idle to repeat.

It has been supposed, that the Protest dated at Gaeta on the 27th of November was adopted in concert with the King; but in point of fact it was arranged in Rome with the Foreign Ministers before the escape. With reference to it, I think fit to observe, that it was sent to Cardinal Castracane, not by any means, as was then given out and believed, without accompaniment, but, on the contrary, with directions and plans abundantly precise and definite. In fact, there was an Ordinance proroguing the deliberative Councils: authority was conferred upon the Provisional Executive Commission to sanction the new Treasury Bonds to the amount of 600,000 crowns; they were empowered to act by a quorum of three, in case of necessity to carry the seat of Government out of Rome, and lastly, to nominate other persons in lieu of, or in addition to, their own body, or for filling the public offices, provided they were not those whom the rising of November the 16th had placed in power.

It is not true, then, that the measures of the Court at Gaeta were so giddy, as was alleged at the time: and if they wore that aspect, it must be ascribed to the Commissioners present in Rome, who did not make them known, nor endeavour to put them into execution. While, however, instructions and plans were thus forwarded to Cardinal Castracane, to the other Commissioners there was simply sent a letter

apprising them of their nomination. Its form was as follows:—

"The undersigned Cardinal, by express command of the Holy Father, has the honour to acquaint Signor ——, that our Lord's Holiness has been pleased to appoint him a member of the Executive Commission, instituted by the Proclamation of the 27th current. The Holy Father is convinced that the said Signor —— will proceed to discharge with his well-known fidelity an office so weighty, and will thus warrant the especial confidence reposed in him by his Holiness.

"Gaeta, Nov. 28. "G. CARD. ANTONELLI."

While such letters were being sent, through the Nuncio at Florence, to Bevilacqua, Zucchi, and Ricci, the Deputies from the Roman Parliament and Municipality were on their road to Gaeta. When they had reached the frontier of the kingdom of Naples at Portello, an Inspector of Police presented himself, and, having acquainted himself with the purpose of their journey, apprised them that the orders he had received would not authorise him to permit any Deputation, on its way to the Holy Father, to enter the kingdom. The Deputation were accordingly obliged to return to Terracina, from whence they addressed themselves to Cardinal Antonelli, to induce him, as Prefect of the Sacred Palaces, to afford them facilities for the fulfilment of their duty. To this the Cardinal replied, that his Holiness deeply lamented his inability to receive the gentlemen who had been specially commissioned to entreat him to come back to the Capital. The Deputies, hereupon, returned downcast towards Rome.

Those, now, who bear in mind that they were persons commissioned to convey the tribute of allegiance to the Sovereign in the name of the most authoritative bodies in the State, and were likewise individually devoted to the Throne and solicitous for concord, will be readily disposed to censure this unexpected repulse. The course of events was sinister, and the Revolution was by this time about to break all bounds; so that every prudent man, every citizen feeling for his country, should have contributed to raise, as far as might be, barriers against it. If the dignity of the Sovereign would not comport with a prompt acceptance of the entreaties of those who represented the State and the city, yet the affection of the Pontiff might have towered higher yet, reflecting the Divine love of Him, Who by stooping and by pardoning ransomed the world. It is hard to judge whether, supposing the Deputation had been received at Gaeta, and supposing some measure of conciliatory settlement, or of prudent adjournment, had been devised, whether, I say, the Revolution could then have been curbed, and the country kept in repose; but the very possibility is harrowing. Radical subversion in civilised societies is but too fatal, not only to the prosperity but to the religion of a community; and corrupts its tone both for a length of time, and in such a degree, that the very suspicion of having in any manner promoted it ought to weigh upon every conscience. And my fear is that History, as she can flatter neither Sovereigns nor subjects, but must be the champion of reason and of justice, which are often-

times trodden down by the one and by the other, cannot hold guiltless the decision of the Court of Gaeta to repel the supplicatory Deputation. There is a doctrine which pretends, that good may be reached through the medium of evil, and that sometimes the former is expedited by giving free course to the latter: but it is a doctrine neither civilised nor Christian; or rather it is no doctrine at all, it is blindness in the understanding, it is meanness or treachery in the will. Even submission to evil can never be a virtue, except after every effort has been made to hinder and to combat it.

CHAP. III.

THE PROVINCES: THOSE NEAR ROME. — REASONS OF THEIR JOYOUS EXCITEMENT AT THE OUTSET. — CRITICAL REMARK THEREON. — THEIR MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITION. — PROVINCES OF UMBRIA AND THE MARCHES. — ROMAGNA. — RESULTS OF DETECTED PLOTS, ABORTIVE INSURRECTIONS, AND THE EUROPEAN CONFLAGRATION OF 1848. — ISSUE OF THE WAR WHEN REPUDIATED BY ROME. — INERTNESS OF THE PARTY OPPOSED TO REVOLUTION FROM DISGUST. — RESULTS OF CLERICAL GOVERNMENT. — THE PREVAILING DISGUST. — THE RETURNED EXILES. — EFFECTS OF PROSCRIPTIONS AND MISGOVERNMENT. — NARRATIVE RESUMED; EFFECTS OF THE NEWS FROM ROME IN THE PROVINCES. — NEWS OF THE REPULSE ENCOUNTERED BY THE DEPUTATION. — PROPOSALS OF THE REVOLTERS. — THE COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES. — PANTALEONI, CANINO, GALLETTI. — MOTION OF PANTALEONI. — APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE. — REFLECTIONS. — THE WORKMEN MAINTAINED AT THE PUBLIC CHARGE; THEIR UNRULINESS. — ACCURSI. — TOTAL COLLAPSE OF AUTHORITY. — REMARKABLE EXAMPLE OF DISORDERLINESS. — THE ROMAN POPULACE. — EXPEDITION ORDERED BY CAVAIGNAC. — DECLARATION OF THE MINISTRY. — DEBATE IN THE COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES ON THE 11TH OF DECEMBER. — TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE SENATOR CORSINI. — REPORT AND SCHEME OF THE COMMITTEE. — DECISION THEREON. — NOMINATION OF A SUPREME GIUNTA.

ALTHOUGH I have stated, as opportunity has offered, how and on what grounds the Provinces came to take part in the movement of the Capital, and in what manner they differed, as to temper and circumstances, both from her and also from each other; yet it is well to sum up in our recollection these separate notices and remarks, before we lose the traces of

them amidst the din of Revolution. That is at all times and in all places uniform, and disguises the specific features of each several people, since the minds of all are at such periods given over either to furious passion, or to panic, and violence becomes the only lord; one that never changes in nature or aspect, either for time or place.

The Provinces in the neighbourhood of Rome, very little refined or civilised, thrilled with delight in those jubilees of peace which the name and the boons of Pius IX. had prompted. There was in this a sentiment of religion, an inborn instinct of liberty, an exultation in their Latin descent, a love of spectacle, a southern impulse of poetry, a gush of natural emotions, operating upon races more under the influence of feeling than of reason. History ought to distinguish with care between that spontaneous glow of the public mind, and artificial demonstrations; between the joyous stir at the outset, and the subsequent galas got up with a view to insurrection; nay between unpremeditated popular risings, and rebellion prepense. Those prophets after the fact, and censors, who impute to deep-laid ill-design no less the early scenes of the reign of Pius, than the convulsions which succeeded, those who cannot discriminate between the several stages of the life of a people, raised to fever-heat by so many and such weighty and unwonted causes, cannot be competent judges. And such writers as without knowing either the geography or the history, or the manners of Italy, imagine they are displaying their refined perspicacity by imputing

whatever may have made a noise to a knot of sectarians, show themselves to be just as wise as the old women, who, when anything goes wrong, set it down to witchcraft.

In the Provinces to which I now refer, there were either but few and obscure sectarians, or none at all; and the inhabitants were so devout, ignorant, and boorish, that but for the influence of such a number of extraordinary causes, no sect would have been able to make head or prosper, or try its hand at change. But after, with their child-like spirits and dense understandings, they had tasted of political intoxication; after the lethargy of some among the nations had been dispelled by the obstreperous frenzy of others, by the crash of thrones, and by the orgies of all Europe; after demagogues had been seen patronizing kings, and kings playing the part of demagogues, it was an easy matter to turn instincts and emotions, ignorance and heat, to account, for purposes of subversion such as few had dreamt of before.

Nor was any great art or rare astuteness requisite in order to pique curiosity, to trade upon credulity, to attract by novelty; most potent incentives to the multitude, and that, too, a multitude which, within a few short months, had witnessed the Pope and the Kings in the attitude of flatterers of the people, coaxing them with indulgences, the larger in proportion as they had been longer withheld; and had also not seldom seen menaces of resistance quailing before symptoms of violence, and dreaded or desired convulsion ending in mere frolic. And since

in proportion as a people is trained to acquiescence and to servitude, it the more readily accommodates itself to change of masters, while in proportion as its knowledge is small, its credulity and fanaticism will be great; it accordingly fell out, that when power was transferred from the palace to the streets, it was there hailed with the customary obsequiousness of slaves. No just judgment can be formed of the people of the Roman States, especially of those who are near the Capital, by comparing them with the inhabitants either of the great European capitals, or of the most civilized countries of Italy. Those French writers who cast the whole world in the mould of Paris, and model the Italian villager after the restless operative of France, do but vent fables while they think they are writing history. In the villages and wretched little towns of Comarca, of Marittima and Campagna, and of La Sabina, there is more pomp of worship in honour of the Saints than of the Lord Christ: practices of devotion abound, but not the intelligent fear of God, nor the strength of love: that moral sense which is developed by sound religion and by civilization, is rare: there is the quarrelsome courage that belongs to high-mettled races, but by no means what is termed civil fortitude, which, acquired by the habit of freedom, refines, and I might say Christianises, the native fierceness of strong-handed men. In the majority there is gross ignorance, and consequently no kind of social intelligence: you have the wiseacres of the Church and the Corporation, as ignorant as the totally untaught

and more vulgar, thanks to that smattering of pagan knowledge which is the fruit of the garbled instruction, miscalled classical; the story of the two Bruti and the two Gracchi; Lycurgus the paragon of legislators, a few fables about the Homeric divinities, and some crabbed sentences from the Tragedian of Asti.* Among the populace, there is not an idea of civilized life, not a notion of political existence: their notion of the State and the Government is confined to the tax-gatherer and the policeman, that of Religion well nigh summed up in a God who judges, and a Devil who destroys. Such was the moral picture of no small number of the Pope's subjects, when caught in the whirlwind of 1848. Yet the heady innovators would have them made on the instant into so many heroes; the clergy, who had trained them to that abject state, would have liked to make of them so many crusaders and martyrs: and we for our parts hoped they might prove capable of that resolute moderation, which is the climax of the freeman's virtues; while foreigners find fault because neither the heroes, nor the martyrs, nor the moderates, were forthcoming!

Passing further from the Capital, we meet, in the Marches and in Umbria, a different character in the people, connected with a superiority in their economical condition, and a higher movement of civilization. There we find neither the vast possessions with which entails and bequests in mortmain† invest the Roman

* Alfieri. — Tr.

† In the Scotch phrase "mortifications." — Tr.

families and corporations. Property is therefore more subdivided, and the condition of the many is less abject, the middle class more numerous, the nobility less isolated. Here, however, a spirit of lukewarmness was more common; the arrogance of a materialising philosophy, and of municipal oratory, more diffused; the insane barbarities of the French Revolution better known; with more aliment for the sects, more contempt for their clerical rulers, and more impatience of the abuses and nuisances of that kind of government. Still worse was it in Romagna, where the sects, though not strong in numbers among the people, yet had recently been amalgamated, and the traditional spirit of sectarianism had been rekindled by the European conflagration.

In these central and upper districts of the Papal States might be plainly seen the natural course and consequences of plots detected and abortive rebellions; which, by engendering alarms and suspicions in the government, had hardened it in its dogged resistance, and dragged it into aggressions and party outrages, whence grew mistrust, enmities, and long-cherished revenge. Hapless are the States that labour under a plague like this; hapless for both the governors and the governed: because it is true, that detected factions and suppressed rebellions not only entail prompt and patent evil on their leaders and originators, but thereafter, and in every shape, worsen the government against which they were directed, and the very remedies, to which it is forced to resort, aggravate the mischief. Undoubtedly, in the early part of the Pontificate of

Pius IX., public excitement was allayed; and had not the bad faith of Austria, and the obstinacy of some infatuated Courts, with the short-sighted policy of the leading European Powers and the intrigues of the sectaries, thrown the reforming movement out of course, the ancient passions might, perchance, never have revived, nor need feuds and suspicions have sprung up afresh. But all Europe had taken fire, much more, then, Italy; every peccant humoür was astir, more deadly in proportion as the body on which it had laid hold was, like the Roman States, ailing and feeble; and when the war, which the Pontiff had first accelerated and sanctioned, but afterwards disavowed, turned to the detriment and humiliation of Italy, Rome stood forth more than ever as the impediment to our national restoration. After the Allocution of the 29th of April, as I have already said, there sprang up in the Pope's subjects, warmed with the love of Italy, an universal resentment, and in their rulers a vehement panic at that resentment; while the unbridled and disorderly press, and the gabbling of the Clubs, had contributed to aggravate both the misgivings of the clergy, and their own grievances. As early as the month of May, both those who were sectaries, and those who were not, had come to the conclusion that they must have an alteration of the constitution, in order to attain to solid liberty, and bear their share in the national enterprise. In a word, there was no longer any strength of confidence or concord. Now, when public opinion had arrived at this pass, the sects might work upon it as they pleased, and those who had formed the

idea of rooting out the old institutions, to create a new Italy, that should be her own mistress, and should put down both the Empire and the Popedom, obtained an opportunity of drawing into their own notions the inexperienced youth, the malcontents, the grey-beards of conspiracy, and all who were inflamed with hatred and revenge. Nevertheless, in the Upper Provinces, the intelligent and educated classes, however discontented with the Roman government, were, with very few exceptions, disinclined to revolution; indeed, they feared and portended utter ruin from it. Still, even in those provinces where the self-restraint that flows from a political education was least rare, the antipathy to clerical government prevailed to such a degree, that the enemies of subversion, who, in any other State, would have bestirred themselves on behalf of authority, here stood indifferent spectators of the evil that was rushing in. Not only those of liberal opinions, but the very men who stickled for a rigid and absolute frame of government, had for a long time ill brooked their pupilage to the clergy, and if they did not detest, they despised it; a circumstance of the most formidable weight, because contempt is more noxious to a government than hatred: it cannot be punished, nor intimidated, nor assuaged: it is an invulnerable rebel. Not, indeed, because the government of the priests has been more cruel than other despotic governments, but because it has more frequently allowed a depraved and ignorant sect to rave and misgovern in its name; and because it has at all times been most disgustful. Now,

to men of a resolute stamp, disgustfulness is more intolerable than actual torment. The clergyman, the divine organ of charity, of consolation, of spiritual health, becomes, when entangled in these temporal relations, the organ of everything we loathe; the police and the censorship, the quintessence of vexation, are ever looming behind him. Nor need I point out how spiritual functions, and religion itself, dwindle in point of authority and respect, when in contact with functions which are worldly and unbecoming; this is too easily understood and too notorious, and if Europe does not, or pretends she does not, perceive nor know it, so much the worse for her.

Another fact should be called to mind. The number of those who had been worried, if not sentenced, for political causes, was great in the Roman State beyond any other of Italy; great, too, was the number of the refugees of the last thirty years, who had come back, and of those released from the State prisons. But the current saying about princes and courtiers, that in banishment they forget nothing and learn nothing, may justly be applied to all political refugees. Few are they who turn their exile to account in elevating their hearts and understandings for the honour and advantage of themselves and of their country. The moral malady of the exile is a craving to get back for political ends, which is often more tormenting to his own country and to that which shelters him, than to the patient himself. Indeed, proscription engenders evils which are incurable; and those, who employ it as an engine of government, punish themselves and society at large more than the culprits; the long-delayed pardon, so

called, is of no use. So was it with the tardy amnesty of 1846. Few were they, among its objects, who forgot the past; or if they forgot it, this was only for a while: few were those, who in their exile learned that to govern themselves was the first condition of good government, few they who gave the forgiveness they got, and did not fling themselves into agitation forthwith and insurrection afterwards. I do not justify, on the contrary, I condemn them; but I am recording a fact which demonstrates the positive mischiefs of political proscription. And we must study the physiology of misgovernment (so to speak), in order to get at the *genesis* of revolution. It is futile to look at effects and shut our eyes to causes; it is lost time to string facts together and not call them to account: in revolution, not nations only, but governments, smart and are chastised, and indeed in almost every case the latter are the more to blame.

Resuming the thread of my narrative, I will now observe, that so soon as the provinces nearest Rome had received tidings of the occurrences there, the slaughter of Rossi, the forcing of the Quirinal, the contumely poured on the Sovereign, and followed by fresh acclamations; and had likewise heard that novel or almost novel term of a Constituent Assembly circulated in company with the known and loved names of freedom and of Italy, the multitude imagined that this rumour meant no more than a fresh scene in the drama of marvels, which for two years they had been applauding; so that it was an easy matter for the few plotters and sedition-mongers to create or uphold in

the minds of the people such a comfortable persuasion. Accordingly, either they applauded, or they were silent, and bowed down before the party which domineered over the Romans, deeming that hereby they were doing homage to freedom and to Italy. In the Central Provinces there was greater excitement, inasmuch as these had a larger number of persons connected with the Sects and the Clubs, inured to sedition, and adepts both in its processes and its ends. In the Northern ones, all who had a capacity for political affairs quickly apprehended to what a pass their country must be brought through the outrages at Rome, and could very ill stomach them. The deputies for Bologna had returned to their own city horror-struck; and that city was half inclined to separate from turbulent Rome. But no resolute counsel gained the day among a population who had now come to be governed by chance rather than by the prudence meet for men: none but clubs and conspirators had any strength to will; they had willed accordingly, and won. As soon as they heard of the Pope's departure, they hailed the hour of their own dominion, and called it that of the people. Neither the Presidents of the provinces, nor the leaders of the troops, had any plan, or any power, to retain the inhabitants in their allegiance to the exiled Sovereign, since in their dissatisfaction with the Government, or with the excesses of the populace, or with both, or from sheer terror, they did not know what to think, or what to determine: the public mind was feeble, feeble the spirit of discipline in the prelacy as well as in the laity, and in the old

Pontifical soldiery perhaps even more so, than in the newly-levied soldiery of independence. Bucciosanti, a prelate who governed Cività Vecchia, openly threw himself into the ranks of sedition: no other governor of a province ventured on active resistance: in some there lacked the energy, in some the will; all wanted plans and instructions. At Bologna, Zucchi, strong in the Swiss regiments, as well as in courage and in the consciousness of a good cause, would have wished to hold his ground, the more so because the best of the citizens kept to their allegiance; but at the outset he got a summons to Rome, and was then nominated to the commission of Government; and, far as he was from the capital, uncertain what to resolve, imperfectly aware of the acts and intentions of the Sovereign, he could do nothing but stand on the defensive, and keep in check the riotous gang that sought to excite the populace. Meantime, all the provinces were waiting the sequel of the events at Rome, the determination of the Pontiff, and his answer to the deputations sent to him from the capital.

So soon as it became known in Rome, that the Delegates of the Parliament and Municipality had not been received at Gaeta, the seditious betrayed by look, language, and mien, not only their dissatisfaction but their intention to revolutionise the State. It had got abroad, that certain friends of the Ministry had failed in their endeavours to induce Cardinal Castracane to confirm them in office, and to devise some means of checking the movement by taking the lead of it: and likewise that the Pontiff was unappeasable

in his resentment against all persons, who were taking the side of the people in their attitude of sedition. Hereupon had sprung up the idea of depriving Gaeta of its vantage-ground for working mischief to Rome, by stripping the Pope of all civil power; many, too, suggested the appointment of a Provisional Government, flattering themselves that Europe would respect their independence, so long as they did not meddle with the spiritual authority. Some such plan indeed was within an ace of taking effect upon the return of the Delegates to Rome, so great was the public excitement; and if this did not happen, it was due to the exertions of the Ministers, and of some prudent persons, who not having yet wholly fallen into suspicion and detestation with the revolutionists, contrived, in the most conciliatory form the case would admit, to curb the rebellious humour.

Although it was a high festival, the Council of Deputies met on the 8th of December. Pantaleoni, after pointing out the necessity of securing public order, proposed the appointment of a committee of five, which should devise modes of meeting the difficulties occasioned by the absence of the Sovereign. This was opposed by the Prince of Canino; and he proceeded to declare, that the Sovereignty of States, while it has its original principle and ultimate ground in God as the author of society, resides immediately in the people, by whom the exercise of it is deputed to some one person or family; that this doctrine was of peculiar force in the Pontifical States, of which the inhabitants had at different times and

of their own accord become subject to the Popes: that accordingly, in default of the person to whom the exercise of the Sovereignty had been delegated, it reverted to its immediate source, the people: that the Supreme Pontiff, a constitutional Prince, the depositary of the Sovereignty, had been carried captive by foreigners into a territory hostile to Italy and to Rome: that his state of imprisonment, or at least of moral coercion, was proved by the mere fact, that the Deputation, sent to invite him back among his subjects, was repelled from the Neapolitan frontier. On these grounds he proposed, that the Council of Deputies should put in use the power it had from the people, without any prejudice, however, to the political rights of the Pontiff Pius IX., if he were pleased to return; and should for the present decree the appointment of a committee of three, Italians born, one ecclesiastic and two laymen, empowered to represent and exercise all the constitutional prerogatives of the Head of the Executive until the Holy Father should re-enter his own territories, wholly emancipated from foreign controul: and he ended by saying, that any existing authority, which would not obey such a committee, should be regarded as an enemy to the country, and a rebel against the sovereignty of the people. The spectators from the galleries, to which this mounted up like incense, applauded clamorously. All the members remained silent: when the President invited the Ministry to speak, and Galletti rose. He said that in reality the Ministry ought to remain as mere spectators, inasmuch as all the power and all

the responsibility lay with the Council of Deputies. He then laboured to prove, that the proposals of Pantaleoni and of Canino were in the same sense, and reconcileable with one another; which, if it were plain to him, always toiling to bring together opposite extremes, I do not think could seem equally so to other people. He overturned the doctrine he had just enunciated about the omnipotence of the Council of Deputies, by affirming, that its powers were defined by the Constitution, so that he advised them to keep within the limits of their legal rights, "until they should have exhausted all such means; which would make the world aware of the real need for proceeding to an act authorised, not indeed by constitutional law, but by the paramount right of necessity." Upon these grounds, he concluded, that the motion of Pantaleoni was preferable, for only the people had the right, in its capacity of sovereign, to declare even the temporary abeyance of the sovereignty of the Pontiff. In a word the speech of Galletti, who had been, and held himself still to be, a Minister of the Pope, came to this: the people are Sovereign: the Chamber absolute in case of need; and necessity is the supreme law. With such a chaos of principles, or rather absence of all principles, do men gloze all their actions! In the end, the day was won by Pantaleoni's motion: and the committee was appointed to consist of Rusconi, Sturbinetti, Rezzi, Sereni, Lunati. Those, however, who reflect upon the language and proceedings of the Court at Gaeta, and the acts and speeches of the Roman Assembly, may well judge, that prudence

had but too little to say either to the one or the other; and that, if there was an anxiety for concord, it was not happily expressed in outward signs. Yet I do sincerely believe, that such an anxiety was lively in the Pontiff's mind; but on the one hand, the majesty of supreme rank forbade his stooping in a hurry to communications of a kind likely to give to clemency the aspect of weakness; on the other hand, mistrust reined him in; and his Court, fomenting the latter, laid the blame of his past perils on the former; while the artifices of a Bourbon, and the cabals of diplomatists, tainted the atmosphere that the mild Pontiff breathed. So, undoubtedly, in the Council of Deputies, the desire for an honourable accommodation was predominant, but the yelling of the public from the galleries, and the assumptions of the clubs, kept it in awe, and suggested a fear lest the more they resisted, the more they should add to the violence of the movement. It was already evident, that the insurgent party had determined to use their opportunity for swaying by bugbears, if not by substantial intimidation, the wills of opponents; because under the pretext of affording employment to the people, they had taken to maintaining vagabond partisans and assassins upon the wages of the State; while Sterbini, who was Minister of Public Works, brought into dependence upon himself the multitudes who were wont to get alms from the Municipality, and applied to Parliament for the means of supporting them, and even of finding work for such artisans as were without it. These crowds he distributed under chiefs whom he could trust, so that by his agency, and that

of Ciceruacchio, the school of revolt was brought under discipline and thorough command. Knots of people might be seen prowling through the streets of Rome, furnished with hoes, and on their way towards *Tor di Quinto*, where they made a show of working on a suburban road: of people, who on their way back, noisy and touched with wine, made uproar according to order, and indulged in disgraceful liberties, such as that for instance of going round at night with Cardinals' hats, and one of the kind which the Pope uses, and, with much of contumely and ribaldry, chucking them into the Tiber. In vain might one long for the intervention of watchful magistrates, for the police was in the hands, or under the controul, of the mischief-makers. Accursi was again at its head; who had been named Assessor during the Fabbri ministry, and dismissed by Rossi, a few days before his catastrophe, with instructions to travel into France, Switzerland, and Belgium, and gather information on the penitentiary system. A crafty fellow he was; so much so, that, having once been an underling among the sects, and having afterwards attracted their suspicions, he had contrived to worm himself anew into their good graces, without forfeiting the favour of patrons who managed to get him the character of a person heart and soul for the Pontifical government. In his department of police, he had been sharp enough to be "hail fellow well met" with every body, to be in every body's interest, obsequious alike to Court and street, liked by the latter, not disliked by the former. He was at Bologna when the news of the events at Rome arrived. He had already won Zucchi's confidence, and was sent back

by him as a trusty envoy to the Pope at Rome. Again installed in the police department there, he took to managing it at the beck of the Club of the People, with the aid of Ciceruacchio and other leaders, and backed by some would-be prætorian guards under Rezzi, of Ravenna, the very pink of blackguards. The carabineers could not be relied on; some leaned to the sects, none were under discipline; Calderari was still in his command; Galletti, the Minister, was colonel-in-chief, but he could effect little in maintaining order. The Civic Guard, commanded by the respected Gallieno, was not alive to the gravity of the crisis; and this corps likewise was infected by distempered humours. They held that order was undisturbed, because the city was not under sack and slaughter; as if it sufficed to make civil society happy and secure, that plunderers and assassins should not have their fullest swing; and as if the very foundation of order did not lie in respect for authority. But such a sentiment had long ago given way. Under Gregory the government was feared and despised. Pius IX. was beloved, and the Court mistrusted, until the 29th of April; after that, neither the Pope was respected, nor his Ministers. The public functionaries, even the military, if not insolent, were but half-obedient. So much so, that one Governor of a Province would often do the very thing that another forbade within his jurisdiction: captains did not obey colonels, nor generals ministers; and the rule was, to be unruly. I will give a remarkable instance. A certain Latini, who commanded the fort of Cività Vecchia, where no small number of Bolognese

were confined, and Zambianchi with them, allowed them to go out for recreation and sporting. When he heard of the murder of Rossi, and the triumph of the seditious, he wrote in terms of congratulation to the new Minister, while he reviled the dead. And he too was no young officer raised to rank by popular favour, but was one of the old Papal soldiery!

If, however, the provincial population had now arrived at a condition in which they could contemplate with the indifference of spectators the convulsions of the State, or would run any hazard at the dictation of a handful of men, much more might the population of Rome incline to dangerous courses; since now for two years it had been excited and demoralised by its own flatterers, and by the flattery of fortune, by the Sovereign, the Court, the administrations; so that if a scheme had some halo of glory about it in the abstract, this sufficed to make them adopt it, although they should see certain mischief to result from its execution. The Roman populace is as generous and highminded by nature, as it is rude and ignorant through misgovernment: hence it affords material apt for rash undertakings and for fanaticism. This populace, now prepared for democratic ascendancy, ceased to bow its devout knee before the Vatican; its aspiring imagination mounted to the Capitol, and it no longer hung upon the lips of a Pontiff, but relied on itself.

During this interval, it became known in Rome, that, on the 28th of November, General Cavaignac had apprised the French National Assembly of his

having, so soon as he had learned the events in Rome, ordered by telegraph the embarkation of 3500 men in three steam-frigates, which were to sail for Cività Vecchia, to ensure the person and liberty of the Pope. The council of ministers in Rome hereupon published the following Declaration, with was received by the Deputies with applause: —

"Declaration of the Roman Government upon the decision announced by General Cavaignac to the National Assembly, on the 28th of November, 1848.

"On the 28th of last month, General Cavaignac signified to the National Assembly, that when he had received the account of the occurrences at Rome on the 16th, he ordered by telegraph the instant embarkation of 3500 men in three steam frigates, which were to sail for Civita Vecchia, with the view both of protecting the person of the Holy Father, and of securing his freedom, and the respect which is his due. In the instructions, too, subsequently sent by the General to M. de Courcelles, and read on the same day to the National Assembly, are found these express words: '*You are not empowered to interfere in any of the political questions now agitated in Rome. It belongs exclusively to the National Assembly to decide upon the part which it will cause the Republic to take in the measures, that will be taken to bring about the restoration of a regular state of things in the dominions of the Church.*'

"We, the undersigned, cannot omit to observe at the outset, that to issue orders for an armed entry upon a foreign territory without the assent of its inhabitants or actual governors, is of itself a step in violation of the fundamental maxims of the law of nations, even though it be adopted with the view of securing the life and liberty of the Prince reigning there; inasmuch as each people, within its own limits, is master of all its own affairs whatsoever; nor is there vested in Princes, according to the principles now universally in vogue, any

absolute lordship or divine right paramount to all other rights social and political.

"The undersigned remark, secondly, that in the above cited instructions given by General Cavaignac to M. de Courcelles, the first sentence of the passage is in point-blank contradiction with the second: inasmuch as by the first M. de Courcelles is ordered in no way to intermeddle in the quarrel which has arisen between this people and its Sovereign, while in the second is contemplated the contingency, that the Assembly of France may resolve upon taking a direct share in measures to be adopted for bringing back the States of the Church to a normal condition. Thus it seems meant by the first sentence to preclude political intervention, while the second announces it as possible.

"The undersigned, waiving many other grounds, and numerous principles of international right relevant to the point at issue, confine themselves to reminding General Cavaignac of the provision of the Fifth Article of the new republican constitution of France, which determines that the arms of France shall not be employed in prejudice of the liberties of other nations. Now the first liberty of all is a nation's independence, its remaining arbiter and master of its own destinies, arbiter and master of the internal management of its public affairs.

"But the Pontiff, we are told, besides being the Sovereign of three millions of subjects, is the Head and Governor of the entire Catholic world; and accordingly every Power that professes the Catholic religion, has a right to take security for the exemption of the Supreme Hierarch from violence, nay from being seriously molested in the full and free exercise of the Pontifical prerogatives.

"We shall not here set ourselves to combat such a proposition, or such a principle, regarded in the abstract: but it will be admitted, that their application must be restrained to genuine and legitimate cases, not to cases supposititious, or irrelevant to the matter in hand. Moreover, it will always be requisite to have some agreement beforehand as to

the mode of carrying these maxims and principles into effect with equity and impartiality, and bearing harmless, at all events, the rights of each people to independence, to freedom, and to the unconditional and full control of its own affairs.

"We hold, then, in the first place, that, whenever the spiritual authority of the Pope is neither hampered nor resisted in its operations, there can be no possible room for intervention. Now the difference which has arisen between the Holy Father and his people is purely and singly political. Nor can even calumny itself succeed in imparting a show of truth to any averment to the contrary. The Church remains intact in her rights, in her appurtenances, in her functions of whatever kind.

"Secondly, even were it granted that the supreme Priesthood could not be exercised with the requisite spontaneity and freedom, it could on no account be allowed that a single one among the nations of Europe should arrogate to itself the right to interfere of its own motion and by arms, in a country independent of it, whatever be the ground and motive it may allege. If the King of France had the title of "Most Christian," the Emperor of Austria was called "Apostolic," the Spanish Monarch "Catholic," and the Portuguese "Most Faithful": appellations all these alike imposing and venerable. Accordingly, to each one of these would accrue the same privilege, with an equal right of intervention in Italy: and not simply to republican France, as General Cavaignac appears to think.

"Lastly, it would be requisite, as we have seen, that the intervention should in no way trample on any right of the people, and furthermore, that it should prove permanently useful and efficacious: inasmuch as, without these two conditions of utility and efficacy, the intervention would be both unjust and futile, and accordingly both blameworthy and mischievous. Now it is a certainty, that the armed intervention of foreigners in the States of the Church cannot take place, without obstructing and impairing in one way or another the public liberties and franchises of the inhabitants:

on the other hand, it cannot turn out permanently useful and efficacious. Problems like ours are not to be solved by the sword, nor by any act or efficacy of brute force. Hence all the prudent, sensible, and virtuous portion of the Pope's subjects have been minded to find a solution for this arduous problem by rational and pacific methods, dealing with causes and not with their external effects, and labouring to pluck up the evil by its real and deep roots. They accordingly hailed with the loudest acclamations the ministerial Programme of the 5th of June, which announced the cheering hope of witnessing the final, substantial, and radical separation of the temporal from the spiritual authority, although both might continue to reside in the same august Person. And since there is a special function of the monarchical power which, as the Pontiff alleges, will not comport with his fatherly and apostolical office, it is necessary that the said portion of power be devolved on and vested in other hands, in an effectual and fitting manner, so that the people of the Roman States may not come to be thwarted at every turn in the legitimate desire which they cherish for civil liberty and progress in all its branches; above all, that they may not be baulked in regard to the sentiment of nationality, and in the first and most fundamental condition of social and political existence, namely, that of living in independence, with the sovereign direction of their own fortunes, and with liberty to emancipate themselves from the galling yoke of the stranger. Reverting, however, for the present, to the Speech of General Cavaignac, it appears highly probable that, upon learning the profound tranquillity of Rome and of the Provinces since the day following the 16th ult.; after becoming aware of the marvellous concord, growing too from day to day, which binds together the Ministry, the Chambers, the Municipality, the Civic Guard, and every other portion of the community; after taking into view that Rome, and indeed every province, has by this means become a very model of order, and that, in the midst of the unbounded liberty of thought, of writing, and of action, enjoyed by this people, not an act nor an indication is to be seen either contrary to the Catholic Faith, or

even such as could in any manner scandalise or disturb any practice, or any demonstration whatever, of exterior worship; and lastly, after considering that the Ministry, the Chambers, and the rest of the constituted authorities, are not implicated in the passions of the people or the excesses that may spring from them, but that all of these on the contrary confine themselves to legality, and to the strict exercise of their own rights and duties, the said General will feel constrained to alter his opinions and conclusion, and will not by the use of force hamper or retard that adjustment, which ought to grow spontaneously, as well out of persuasion and affection, as out of a more correct sense and knowledge of what necessity requires. But, be this as it may, the decision of General Cavaignac is an humiliation, nay a most grievous outrage, upon the people of all Italy: and we will not believe that the generous French nation is voluntarily a party to it. Under whatever colour, and for whatever decent and plausible reason, General Cavaignac may mean to interfere by armed force in Italy, this will be a proceeding that, unless taken with the assent of the nation and its representatives, will constitute a real and gross violation of the rights proper to every people. General Cavaignac does not so much as hint at any previous arrangement either with the communities or with the sovereigns of this Peninsula; he does not say a word of a request, or even of the free and full consent of Pius IX., which request and consent we, on the other hand, deny to be in any manner possible. Pius IX. is the mildest of Princes, and has a noble and an Italian heart. He could not possibly desire to return to his See preceded and accompanied by the arms of the stranger. Whoever surmises, whoever affirms this, wrongs him cruelly. Moreover, we repeat it, the question here is not about his Apostolic office, but simply about the political differences, which have arisen between him and his subjects: so that his return among them by means of foreign arms would be the consummation of a proceeding the most at variance with constitutional principles, and with the fundamental maxims of public law, that can be conceived.

"With these reflections, we, the undersigned, do solemnly protest, in the face of Italy and of Europe, against the French invasion prepared and determined by General Cavaignac: and we declare, that the entry of his troops and the violation of the national territory shall be obstructed to the best of our power: a course, in which our object is to uphold the honour, not only of the Roman States, but of the whole of Italy, and to second the fixed will and determination of every Italian people. Likewise we make a solemn and general appeal to the Potentates of Europe, and to their sense of equity and justice: since the cause is one common to all nations jealous of their independence, and proud of having won political liberty

"C. E. Muzzarelli, President.
T. Mamiani,
G. Galletti.
P. Sterbini.
P. Campello."

"Rome, 8. December, 1848.

The committee appointed by the Council of Deputies had still some communications with Cardinal Castracane and Monsignor Roberti, who seemed as if they did not scout the proposed terms of accommodation, but stated that they must wait and hope for a favourable reply to the representations they were making at Gaeta, and requested that the parliament might postpone its further deliberations. But popular impatience and assumption were on the increase, as were the menaces of violence; upon which account the Deputies met, on the 11th of December, to discuss the proposals which the committee, together with the ministry, had framed. The senator Prince Corsini addressed to the President of each Council the following letter, which was ordered to be read: —

"From the Capitol, December 11th, 1848.

"The present condition of anxiety and suspense in the City gives ground to fear, from hour to hour, that public tranquillity may be seriously disturbed. In this state of things the undersigned Senator of Rome thinks it his duty to apply to your Excellency to take measures, in your official capacity, for averting those mischiefs which might result from disturbances, especially to the metropolis. Your Excellency's known zeal and tried ability give the writer a guarantee, that such wise resolutions will be adopted as will prevent any untoward occurrence. In the meantime he avails himself of the opportunity to assure you of his high consideration.

"Prince CORSINI, Senator."

After President Sturbinetti had read this letter, and Mamiani had urged the assembled Council to make provision for the necessaries of the State, Fusconi began to speak, in the following terms: —

"At the Sitting of the 8th current, you instructed us to submit to you, in concert with the Ministry, and within the shortest possible period, the most eligible expedients for meeting the difficulties that flow from the absence of one of the three Legislative organs.

"In order to fulfil this obligation, we met on the same evening, first alone, and then with the Ministers. We settled, that before busying ourselves about the choice of a plan to propose to you, we would industriously collect all the information which might assist us towards the better discharge of our commission; and we found that the persons, named in the instrument dated at Gaeta, on the 27th of November, might without any great difficulty have put into operation that third organ, which is required in order to complete the constitutional machinery. We likewise found, that the Pontiff was subsequently asked for full and unrestricted,

powers, but no answer in regard to them has been brought to our knowledge, although we are aware of its having been explained to the Pope that the state of the country was such as not to admit of any delays.

"On each of the following days, the 9th and 10th, your Committee assembled twice in conjunction with the Ministry, in order to devise and discuss the measures most suited to give effect to your instructions, should the aforesaid free and unrestricted powers, which have been asked for, not be forthcoming. The result of our reflections and discussions was the draft of decree, which we now submit for your adoption.

"Project of Decree.

"Considering that the Roman States have a Representative Government, and enjoy the rights and guarantees of a Constitution fixed by Statute;

"That the said Statute has for its basis the distinction and also the connection of the three powers, and that in default of any one of them the constitutional government is incomplete and cannot fulfil its purposes;

"That, in the night of the 24th of last November, the Pope withdrew from Rome and left no one to fill his place;

"That the document, dated at Gaeta, on the 27th of November, in which a Commission of Government is named, is wanting in the forms required by the Constitution, which forms likewise constitute the guarantee for the inviolability of the Sovereign;

"That the Commission of Government, named in the aforesaid instrument, has not given notice of its acceptance, and has in no manner, and in no part, exercised its office, nor has even proceeded to constitute itself;

"That the two Legislative Councils, in concert with the Ministry and with the Municipality, have striven to repair this great derangement by sending envoys to the Sovereign, with an urgent request to him to return and administer the affairs of the State;

"That these envoys not only failed to gain personal admission into the Neapolitan dominions, but endeavoured in vain to obtain recognition from the Sovereign; also that other more recent communications, and other efforts made about him, have proved wholly fruitless; and that, during his residence in territory not his own, which no deputation dispatched to him is permitted by the supreme authority to enter, the Deputies are debarred from a right declared in the Constitutional Statute, and it is left doubtful whether he is in a condition to enjoy full freedom and spontaneity in his acts, and to avail himself of impartial and conciliatory counsels;

"And inasmuch as no country or city can remain without a complete government, nor the properties and rights of its inhabitants without protection;

"And because it is right, in every manner and by every expedient, to avert the impending danger of anarchy and civil discord, and to maintain public order;

"And likewise to uphold in their integrity the Fundamental Statute, the Throne, and its constitutional prerogatives:

"The two deliberative Councils, alive to their duties, and likewise yielding to the absolute necessity of making provision in some regular manner for the extreme urgency of the circumstances, by a vote which they have severally adopted at their respective sittings, decree as follows:

"1. A Supreme *Giunta* of State is provisionally appointed.

"2. It is composed of three persons, not belonging to the Council of Deputies, nominated by a simple majority of votes in that Council, and subject to approval by the High Council.

"3. The *Giunta* shall discharge all the functions appertaining to the Head of the Executive Power, in the name of the Sovereign, and by a majority of voices, under the terms of the Statute, and according to the maxims and principles of constitutional law.

"4. The functions of the *Giunta* shall at once determine

upon the return of the Pontiff, or upon his deputing a person, by an instrument having the character of perfect legality, to fill his place and discharge its duties, when such person shall actually assume the exercise of the said functions."

The Prince of Canino spoke repeatedly in opposition to the preamble of this Decree. Ninchi and Fiorenzi (Francesco) held that the Deputies had no power by the Statute to nominate a substitute for the Sovereign, and declared that, as a choice of evils, it was more correct to appeal to the people. Sterbini and Armellini argued in favour of the motion for a *giunta*, which, at the close, was carried. Afterwards, the Senators of Rome and Bologna, with the Mayor of Ancona, were elected to form it. Corsini, as has been seen, was Senator of Rome; Zucchini was Senator of Bologna; and Count Filippo Camerata Mayor of Ancona. The Deputies present were fifty-six. The Decree was immediately made known to the High Council, which was sitting. Only seventeen members of it were in attendance, for from day to day some one either withdrew from Rome, or resigned his seat; and Corsini called attention to this fact, in order that the want of a quorum for voting might be noticed. Those present, however, did vote; they unanimously approved the Decree of the Deputies, and on the following day, with only fourteen present, they likewise approved the choice of persons for the supreme *Giunta*. The Council of Ministers then announced to the people the decisions taken, in order that they might be put into full execution.

CHAP. IV.

REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE PONTIFF TO THE EUROPEAN COURTS. — THE COMMISSION, APPOINTED UNDER THE BRIEF OF NOV. 27. — BEVILACQUA AND ZUCCHI. — BARBERINI AND RICCI. — PROJECTS AND COMMUNICATIONS. — LETTER AND MEMORANDUM SENT BY BEVILACQUA AND RICCI TO CARDINAL ANTONELLI. — PROTESTS AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF THE GIUNTA. — GIUNTA REPUDIATED ALSO BY THE REPUBLICANS. — THEIR MACHINATIONS. — THE DEPUTATIONS FROM THE CLUBS. — RELATIONS OF MAMIANI AND STERBINI. — DISORDERS. — CONDUCT OF THE CIVIC GUARD. — THE GIUNTA PROCLAIMS THE CONSTITUENT. — THE PROCLAMATION. — RESIGNATION OF MAMIANI. — NOTICE OF THE ACTS OF THE MINISTRY OF NOV. 16. — GALLETTI APPOINTED TO THE GIUNTA. — NEW ADMINISTRATION.

THE Pontiff had informed the European Governments of the causes which had driven him into exile, and had given them to understand that he looked for their aid, by way both of advice and of action. Meantime he had empowered the Commission, nominated by the Brief of the 27th of November, to constitute itself for business, even if no more than three members should attend, and to sit in any city of his States which might be deemed more safe than the capital. Now, as three of its members, namely, Castracane, Roberti, and Barberini, had undoubtedly accepted the charge, and were in Rome, it is manifest that if they never acted as a Government, it was for lack not of instructions and authority, but of inclination, or of courage. Bevilacqua and Zucchi, after they had got

at Bologna the intimation of their appointments, made it known, through the press, that they would repair to Gaeta, to promote a reconciliation, and to be champions of free institutions and of the Italian cause. They set out accordingly in that direction on the 10th of December, and were followed by Ricci, who started from Macerata. Zucchi had become so odious to the promoters of sedition, that he could not, without extreme danger, be known to pass through Tuscany; he therefore had to repair, with many precautions, to La Spezia, and there to await time and conveyance to set sail for Gaeta. And he did well; for the Tuscan Ministry were in quest of him, and Pigli, the governor of Leghorn, transmitted by telegraph orders for his arrest; nor can any man say what would have been his fate, had he fallen into the hands of the lawless rabble of that town. Bevilacqua and Ricci reached Gaeta by the middle of the month, and were kindly and gladly welcomed by the Pope, and by Cardinal Antonelli. Prince Barberini arrived on the 20th; but Zucchi did not get there till the 1st of January, as he was delayed by temporary indisposition, and by other mishaps. The counsels of Bevilacqua, to which Ricci agreed and Barberini approximated, were sagacious and liberal. They are embodied in a letter and a memorandum, in which they briefly sum up the facts within their knowledge, the alternatives before them, and their judgments thereon. I place both documents on record, in order to substantiate the facts, and for the honour of men, who exerted themselves to secure the established

liberties, and to spare Italy the curse of foreign invasion: —

"To His Eminence the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal Antonelli, at Gaeta."

"When your Most Reverend Eminence encouraged us to consider further the actual state of the Pontifical dominions, in conformity with the conversations we had had the honour to hold with you, we framed the accompanying paper; but we postponed its delivery on account of the arrival of the Prince Barberini, out of which arose subsequent meetings. Now, however, on the eve of departing, we think it our duty to forward these sheets to the revered hands of your Eminence, as well because they sum up and place on record the statements of opinion which we in conscience believed it our duty to lay before you, as because we are desirous that, in your actual capacity of Pro-Secretary of State, you may have the power, at any time which you may think opportune, of taking them into consideration.

"We do not hide from your Eminence our impression of the anxiety with which our return to our own Provinces is awaited and will be met: and this we state, on account of our sincere solicitude to assist in maintaining the Pontifical form of Government. Be assured that, if we have not intelligence adequate to judge of the present most serious juncture, our hearts at any rate were, and are, truly grateful and devoted to so good and clement a Sovereign.

"Our entreaty we must be permitted to make, nay to reiterate, namely, that your measures be prompt. Further, in reperusing the late Protest, which you communicated to us yesterday in print, we have found reason to observe, that the expression about not derogating from the present institutions might, by any one disposed to cavil, be construed rather with reference to the past proceeding then under discussion, than to a fixed intention for the future: especially because at the commencement utterance is given to complaints, but too just, of such as have abused those concessions. Permit us,

then, earnestly to beg that, inasmuch as the preservation of these institutions intact is the resolution of His Holiness, and consists with his declarations, he may deign to use means for conveying a more unequivocal assurance of it. We should hold ourselves deficient in our duty towards the Sovereign and the country, did we omit this entreaty: and your Eminence may possibly be disposed to take the earliest opportunity of acting upon it in your answer to the Pro-Legate of Bologna.

"The advices, which one of the undersigned received yesterday from that city, announce the continuance of tranquillity.

"Bowing down to kiss the sacred purple, we are, &c.

(Signed) C. Bevilacqua
G. Ricci."

"Mola di Gaeta, Dec. 24, 1848.

MEMORANDUM.

"In the conversations, which the undersigned have had the honour to hold with his Eminence the most Reverend Cardinal Antonelli, they have already had opportunities to represent —

"1. Their most anxious wish that His Holiness should re-establish his sacred abode within his dominions.

"2. Their regret, that his present residence should furnish the opponents of the temporal government of His Holiness with an unjust but effective pretext for construing it into an adverse manifestation of political principles.

"3. The advantage of reassuring those in doubt, by the word of the Sovereign, against the malignant insinuation, that the tendency of his counsels is to derogate from the liberties established by the Statute, to swerve from the benignant policy that has been and is the glory of the reigning Pontiff, and to lag behind the sentiment of nationality.

"4. The necessity that the organ of Government should not only have a legitimate appointment, but should also be capable of, and gifted with, vigour and efficacy.

"5. The importance of its preserving, both in its appointment and in all its proceedings, not merely the substance, but, even to the point of scrupulousness, the forms of the constitution: so that no occasion may be left for the malevolent to assail and undermine it. Moreover, it should be composed of such persons as may be qualified, not only by their congenial sentiments, but by the confidence of the Sovereign and the unequivocal opinion of the people, to conduct the government harmoniously, honourably, and firmly.

"6. How urgent it is not to let the population of these States remain longer unprotected, and, accordingly, to take measures that the heads of Provinces, and the local authorities, may be aware how to behave both now and hereafter; lest the interdict pronounced upon the central government of the capital should give birth to a destructive disorganisation in detail, and, under the supreme law of necessity, to an occasion for the most momentous innovations.

"His Eminence the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal has been pleased particularly to acquaint the undersigned, that the sojourn of the Holy Father at Gaeta has, in fact, resulted from accident and not from his preconceived design: and further, that the design and intention of the Pontiff is to leave it, and to return among his own subjects; pointing out, however, that the period of departure must depend on the answers to be received from the various Potentates, while his return to his dominions implied as a condition his being guaranteed full liberty in the exercise of his power, spiritual and temporal. He likewise intimated, that directions and ordinances had been dispatched to the Lord Cardinal Castracane, President of the temporary Executive Commission appointed by the instrument of November the 27th, among which were an ordinance for the prorogation of the Councils, authority to sanction the new Treasury Bonds to the amount of 600,000 crowns, authority to proceed to business with a quorum of three only, and to remove the meetings from Rome; besides

the nomination of, and the power to nominate, other persons, in lieu of, or in addition to, the Commission itself, or for administrative offices, except those implicated by having been forced into office on the 16th of November. All these directions and ordinances he stated to have remained apparently without any result, and without its being known that they had been announced to the public.

"Further, the Lord Cardinal expressed his conviction, that no one could in good faith harbour a doubt about the inviolability of the Statute; and with reference to several contingencies stated in conversation, he declared it to be his conscientious view that both the essence and the form of the constitutional system should be for ever maintained. To this he referred his own nomination as a minister of His Holiness, with the title of Pro-Secretary of State, and his signature as such, attached to the Ordinance for the prorogation of the Councils; by which, as he conceived, he had provided against any default of a responsible organ in the instrument for the Executive Commission.

"The most Eminent Cardinal received also with favour our statement of the lively sentiment which pervades the population of the Roman States in support of the cause of nationality: and having been himself at one time the head of a ministry which firmly avowed that principle, he intimated, with the intelligence of a statesman, that he should think it right that every prudent exertion should be made, even more in action than by profession, to attain the desired end.

"Lastly, with respect to the remarks we had submitted upon the features and condition of the Executive Commission named at the outset, and which had remained for more than a month in operation in the face both of Prince and people, he approved the suggestion of a new appointment of a regular Executive organ of that nature, composed of other persons, and having its seat provisionally out of Rome, but within the territory.

"He then gave us to understand, that to bring such a Commission into action would be a matter of material advan-

tage, and might even be the only means of saving the State, or at any rate great part of it, from heavy calamity.

"He thereupon concluded by inviting and urging the undersigned to be good enough to consider further what had passed.

"In the discharge of this obligation, according to their duty and conscience, the undersigned now venture to submit the following observations.

"The absence of the Sovereign Pontiff from his dominions is the most deplorable of political calamities, both from the estrangement between Prince and subject consequent upon it, and likewise because it of necessity makes the Sovereign an object of the solicitudes of foreigners. This is a source of deep regret for Italy, a cause of despondency in all good subjects, an occasion for rivalry and disagreement among foreign Powers: of which one meanwhile, that is, Austria, will probably take advantage, in order to re-establish the relations broken up by the Italian war.

"The prolongation of this absence, viewed in its bearing on the Roman State, cannot but lead either to an entire alteration, or subversion, of the form of government, or else to deadly intestine strife.

"At the former result things might very easily arrive, through that habitual indifference in the people which finds a plea in the need of order and internal tranquillity; while there is a natural tendency to the latter from the indecisive action of the government, whence proceed reactions of party under colour of loyalty, personal animosities under the pretext of public spirit, feuds and factions through the country, each assuming the garb of patriotism.

"The State, deprived of its Sovereign, is greatly exposed to foreign interference; a calamity, under which all good men would suffer not less acutely than from civil war, as would those districts which have kept their fidelity during the late vicissitudes, and which would have found a guarantee against such risks in the hoped and looked for presence of the Sovereign.

"Hence, no doubt can be entertained that the first and most urgent demand of the public interest is the early, nay, if possible, instant return of the Pontiff into his own dominions. But he should return with dignity, in freedom, and with securities against the risk of having again to quit them.

"For this purpose either of two courses might be adopted: the first dependent on simple force, the second on a solemn reconciliation: or to speak more properly, dependent the one on material, the other on moral force.

"The first is more rapid, more simple, more overwhelming: but the Sovereign has it not of his own, and it must be borrowed from foreigners.

"The second is more durable, more dignified: and the Pontiff may be supplied with it from his own heart, and from the consciences of his subjects.

"The undersigned, accordingly, conceive, that the latter is to be preferred: and, founding themselves on this idea, they wholly abstain even from a word relating to the other: both because they believe it would be utterly repugnant to the character and temper of their excellent Prince, and because they individually could not take a part even in the discussion of it; inasmuch as in so doing they would be acting against their convictions, which is dishonesty.

"With reference, however, to moral force, the undersigned had imagined that the following might be useful and effective instruments for its exercise: namely —

"1. A high-minded and wise declaration, such as befits the mind and heart of His Holiness; and such as, serving the purposes indicated at the outset, would annihilate the calumnies of the enemies to the Pope's government, and would place it in advance of the exigencies of the times, and of the comprehensive, yet just desires of the people.

"2. The nomination, in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, of a new responsible administration, to take its rise regularly from the resignation of the last preceding one, that of Soglia, and so onwards. Armed with extraordinary

powers because of the temporary absence of the Sovereign, it should also be composed of competent persons, having their special qualification in a spirit of peace, and in an upright and disinterested attachment to the Sovereign and to the Nation.

"3. A notification of the early departure of the Pope, and of his confirmed intention to return speedily to the States of the Church; with an invitation also to their inhabitants, and to the Civic Guards, to expedite, by the support of their exertions, the completion of the guarantees so highly requisite for his security and dignity, chiefly as against turbulent foreigners.

"4. The announcement of just principles of government: and, among these, —

"A hearty concurrence in establishing and maintaining the nationality of Italy; with an adhesion, therefore, to the principles of the Customs' League, and of a political Federation:

"A single-minded adoption of the constitutional polity and laws, with a frank acceptance of all real developments, but a curb on all licentiousness or abuse: and accordingly a fresh election, freely and speedily, of the Representatives of the nation, with a view to an immediate re-assembling of the Councils, by whose support the Government is to be conducted.

"These acts, taken in the aggregate, promptly and without qualification, would, in the belief of the Undersigned, have great effect in meeting the present circumstances of the country. Still greater, in their opinion, would be the advantage, should the wisdom of the Sovereign decide on further boons and provisions, such as the following:

"Relief to the deranged finances by means of such a liberal loan from the ecclesiastical Estate, as might release the over-laden population from the pressure of extraordinary and excessive burdens.

"Countenance given by the Pontiff to the honour and interests of Italy in the negotiations of Brussels.

"Interposition of his paramount and authoritative voice to check, in the mean time, all abuse of force attending the military occupation of Lombardy.

"At the worst, however, one of two alternatives might happen: either that the people should not duly respond to these acts, or that occurrences should supervene of such a nature as to overbear any calculation of political science, or of human government.

"But in the first case, as the Undersigned think they see, the Pontifical Sovereignty would have the undivided honour of its determination, and the people would be responsible for all calamities following; while in the second, that Sovereignty would lay up for future times a cherished and glorious memory, perhaps one fraught with eventual triumph.

"These reflections the Undersigned have freely expressed, because they were prompted by the late mark of the Sovereign's confidence; because His Eminence the most Reverend Lord Cardinal encouraged them; and because, free themselves from any anxiety or inclination for power, and chancing to be at the very foot of the throne, they have felt impelled thus to submit the sum of their impressions. They do not conceal from themselves, that their ideas and their plans may possibly appear to lean too much towards that spirit, which at this epoch rules the minds of the nations, almost all of them astir. But for this very reason it is their opinion, that the Papal Government should by a resolute policy cope with the gravity of the crisis, and, gaining by its traditional wisdom the mastery over times and circumstances, should make such dispositions as may give the people of its territory clearly to understand, that they may win from it in peace and security more than perhaps they could obtain from any other source, with all the hazards of convulsion.

"But whatever may be the events, that are to enter into this process of social transformation, in all of which man mingles subject to the mighty and hidden hand of Providence, the Undersigned must profess sentiments of devotion and gratitude to the Pontiff, of harmony and peace towards

their fellow-countrymen; with these they set out from their own homes, with these they would return thither; and, accordingly, they pray his Eminence the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal Antonelli to consent to become the expositor of their humble views before their benignant Sovereign, to whom, while they propose to submit, with an honourable and respectful frankness, their convictions, such as they are, in regard to public affairs, they likewise earnestly tender their personal services.

"It only remains to urge, in conclusion, this single point, that if the existing unhappy posture of affairs should, from circumstances not within the cognisance of the Undersigned, continue, immediate provision may at any rate be made to supply every province and every municipality, in default of the supreme central power, with some standard, to which it may, at any rate for the time, conscientiously and securely conform, in the conflict now too probable between necessity and duty.

"Molo di Gaeta: dated 22nd of December 1848, and presented 24th."

C. BEVILACQUA.
G. RICCI."

While affairs were in this train at Gaeta, in Rome they went headlong. The nomination of the Supreme *Giunta* of State was stigmatised as an enormity, in a note of Cardinal Antonelli; and it had been denounced by the Holy Father, in a Protest of the 17th of December, as a sacrilegious aggression. On the other hand, the Republicans, who now carried both their heads and voices high, declared it to be a reckless invasion of the rights of the people. All the adepts in movements and insurrections, whom Italy had reared in her recent troubles, sped to Rome; and these took good care that no sort of moderation or temper should be kept. Rather, in all language and proceedings, fury and precipitancy were in vogue;

and, while every good citizen was labouring to reduce the public mind to repose and concord, they toiled for the indefinite increase of perturbation and division. Garibaldi had now arrived in Rome. He derived great weight, with the excited multitude, from his reputation for signal prowess, and a hardihood quite unique. Others were scouring the provinces, haranguing the Clubs, combining them in a league, affiliating them to a centre, and inflaming them with the notion of electing, by direct and universal suffrage, a popular assembly, to establish a pure democracy in the Papal States. The various Clubs sent delegates to Forlì first, and afterwards to Ancona, to decide on the petition for it, which they intended to transmit to those in power at Rome. Such as were hostile kept in the background; there was a general concurrence, except that some from Bologna and Romagna voted subject to this condition, that the alternative of convoking a Constituent was not to be embraced, until all hope of an accommodation with the Sovereign should have been lost. From Ancona, the emissaries of the provincial Clubs repaired to Rome, to solicit and make interest in the sense of the decision which had been taken. Many and various petitions arrived thither. Gatherings commenced, as did upbraidings and threats against the Ministry, who were trying to compose matters, and to procrastinate; most of all against Mamiani, because he resisted the plan of a Constituent outright. He was sincerely resolved to carry on the government in right of the constitutional Throne, and not to permit a change in its foundations; while

he was meditating to close the Club of the People, and by force to maintain public order, should any seek to disturb it by force. The rest of the Ministers were swayed by his views, if we except Sterbini. He did not venture in council to oppose Mamiani, who was endowed with all the gifts that win the feelings and convince the understanding in discussion; but he would go and thwart him in the Club of the People, where he denounced his projects of resistance. In the palace he made a show of holding back, but out of doors he egged us on. Meanwhile, tumult was growing rife, and its promoters insolent. Mamiani several times called to arms the Civic Guard, which the honourable Gallieno was labouring to muster for the support of order, and which he brought to parade in the public squares, by way of indicating that the turbulent would be opposed. In the city there were such complaints of the foreigners, as those who fomented passion, that on some days the conspirators seemed not to be in heart to make any attempt. One evening it chanced that a miscellaneous crowd, which, after cheering Garibaldi, had set to going about Rome with flags and shouting for the Republic and the Italian Constituent, was dispersed, between the *Piazza di Venezia* and the *Piazza Sciarra*, by the Civic Guards and the citizens. Complaints against the reputed authors of the disturbances were on the increase; and the Ministers directed Accursi to expel Cernuschi, with one or two more daring or crafty strangers, from Rome; but the order was not executed. Next evening the Civic Guards were mustered in the *Piazza de' Santi*

Apostoli, and it was said they were about to ask for the dismissal of the foreign sedition-mongers; but when an individual had begun to speak in favour of the Constituent, Sterbini arrived, and so inflamed the minds of those who leant to every novel or foolhardy project, that a shout for the Constituent arose from the ranks of this burgher force. Thereupon a petition was produced, which indeed few subscribed; still, it sufficed for the seditious to have sown such a seed: they then spread the news, that the Civic Guard was for the Constituent; and so they got by cunning what they could not by force. Thus was government falling to pieces. Lunati had already withdrawn from the Finance Department, upon learning how strong was the resentment of the Pope; and soon after, Sereni, Minister of Grace and Justice, had resigned in like manner. Mamiani determined to make a final effort at resistance; and on the 21st of December he proposed to the Council of Deputies, that they should give the Ministry a power, for two months, to expel from the capital and the country all such foreigners as they might conceive ill-disposed to public order; but Canino keenly opposed him, and carried it that the motion should be referred to the Committees. And now all endeavours were in vain; for the Supreme *Giunta* had on the preceding day published the Proclamation, which I subjoin.

Supreme *Giunta* of State.

"People of the Roman States!

"Although we are conscious of being but too unequal to the lofty rank and office, to which the Legislative Councils

have called us by their decree of the 11th current, yet, as witnesses of the extreme and universally felt necessity of furnishing the State with a government, and public liberty with a bulwark, we have mastered our warrantable misgivings, and obeyed the imperious summons of our country. It will be our incessant care, with the aid of the other authorities, to maintain internal order, to facilitate the development of our free institutions, to restore prosperity to every class, and to co-operate with all our might in the pursuit of National Independence. We, however, simultaneously announce, that we assume an office so weighty only provisionally and for the moment, until a Constituent Assembly for the Roman States shall have determined on our political institutions: and we promise to promote by our eager exertions, to the best of our power, the convocation of such an Assembly, now demanded by the universal wish of the people, at the earliest possible period.

"People of Rome and of the Provinces! rely you on our zeal, even as we rely on concord among you, and on the earnestness with which you will set to baffling the evil designs of our foes, by maintaining, inviolate and unalterable, tranquillity and obedience to the laws.

"From our residence at Rome,
20th December, 1848.

TOMMASO CORSINI.
GIUSEPPE GALLETTI.
F. CAMERATA."

As the Constituent Assembly had thus been announced, Mamiani forthwith gave up his office, or rather his offices, as a minister; for during their last days they were almost all concentrated in his hands, inasmuch as he was in extra charge both of the finances and of the Home department.

In the Ministry of the 16th of November, Mamiani had used his very best endeavours to keep within the bounds of due respect for the Sovereignty of the

Pontiff. He had, indeed, made complaint of the invasion threatened by Cavaignac; but, in order to soften its effect, he had shortly after, in a despatch to Bastide, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, testified his desire to be on good terms and in alliance with France. He had likewise sent Canuti, a person firm in his allegiance to the Constitutional Throne, to Paris and London, with letters to the Prince of La Cisterna at Paris, and to Carlo Pepoli in London, on each of whom he conferred the office of provisional envoy. When they had declined the charge, he appointed Canuti himself to hold communications with the Governments of France and England, in order to obtain their interposition as peacemakers and mediators between the Pontiff and Rome, with a view of arriving at a durable accommodation, and a stable settlement, with a complete severance of the spiritual from the temporal power. He had simultaneously taken up the negotiations for the Italian Confederation, or, as it was then called, the Federative Constituent Assembly, of which he had laid the plan before Parliament; and with this aim he had dispatched Spini and Pinto as envoys to Turin. He was censured, indeed, for the choice, because they had the character of being busy-bodies for the Clubs, not practical negotiators. He likewise had held correspondence with the Tuscan Government, but fruitlessly, because he would not enter into the scheme of a Constituent with unlimited powers, as that Government suggested and its agents urged.

As to domestic affairs, Mamiani had introduced a

Bill relating to municipalities, of which I will summarily recite the heads, because it was afterwards promulgated, with a few variations, by the Provisional Government. The Communes were to continue unchanged, until the Legislative Power should re-arrange their limits; and the indefeasible right of each to self-government, and to the arrangement and disposal of its administrative business, subject to the general laws of the State, was acknowledged. The municipalities were to exercise their privileges through a representative body popularly elected, and composed of a council and a magistrate; the former for legislative, and the latter for executive purposes. The number of the councillors was retained such as it had been fixed by a law of June, 1831. The electors were to name for each municipality the quota of councillors appointed by law; and the elected were to choose the magistrate from among themselves. All inhabitants of full age were to be electors for the district where they held possessions or resided, except insolvents, persons under suspension, journeymen, salaried officers, vagrants, cultivator son *metairie* not being proprietors, and persons condemned or under process for infamous crime. All citizens were eligible at twenty-five, excepting contractors, paid municipal officers, political officers empowered to put the military in requisition, and of course all those not on the electoral list. After laying down in a convenient form the rules for conducting elections, the Bill went on to provide, with wise discrimination, for the exercise of the legislative power by the Councils, and of the

executive by the magistrates. The sittings of these Councils were to be public, unless one-fifth of the councillors, or the magistrate, should demand a meeting in secret committee. The bounds of the communal jurisdiction were determinable by the rights of other Communes and of the Provinces, by the provisions of the Fundamental Statute, by the public law of the country, and by the decisions of the Legislative bodies. One-fifth part of the members might appeal, from a vote of the Council to the administrative Commission for the Province, by a written memorial stating the grounds of the proceeding. The Presidents of Provinces were empowered to cancel any vote of the Councils, if in contravention of the Fundamental Statute, of the public law of the country, or of the Municipal Constitution Act itself; reserving to the Municipality a right of appeal to the Council of State, whose judgment should be final. The Presidents were further empowered to suspend for three months the operation of such resolutions as they might consider seriously detrimental to the Municipality; giving their reasons in writing, and advising repeal or modification. After the three months, the Council might re-enact any measure thus impeached, and, if then carried anew, it was to be subject, at the end of a second like period, to a fresh vote, after which there should be no further bar to its taking effect, unless the Government should, within a fortnight, announce its determination to submit the measure to the final judgment of the Legislative Councils of the State. Such were the leading provisions of a Bill which, if not

perfect in all its parts, yet, from the importance of the subject, from its comprehensive spirit, and from its just allotment of powers, deserves the attention of all who are seeking for a good and liberal plan of municipal constitutions.

Zucchini, the Senator of Bologna, a man of high probity, had steadily refused to take his seat in the *Giunta* of State; in his place Galletti had been nominated, who never refused any appointment. A new Ministry was formed, with Monsignor Muzzarelli for the department of Public Instruction, and provisionally for Foreign Affairs; Armellini, an advocate, for the Interior; Federico Galeotti, also an advocate, for Grace and Justice; Livio Mariani for Finance; Pietro Sterbini for Commerce and Public Works; Campello for War. It is needless to give any account here of the characters of Corsini, Galletti, Muzzarelli, Sterbini, or Campello, as I have already had in these volumes occasion to describe them. I will speak only of those who were new to power. Camerata of Ancona, connected on the female side with the Buonaparte family, was more conspicuous for his wealth, integrity, and pliability of temper, than for talent or acquirements. As Mayor of Ancona, at a period of general excitement, he had comported himself according to its humours. Not being hot, perhaps not even warm, in his love of liberty, he had accepted the supreme power, in order to shun the risks that refusal might have entailed at Ancona: being of a character not to control men and events, but to be controlled by events, by his colleagues, and by his apprehensions. Armellini

was a septuagenarian, of tolerable abilities and cultivation, distinguished as a lawyer, void of political or economical science, strong in sophistry, and practised in the quirks of his profession; he had a reputation for ambition rather than for liberal politics. It is said that in private conversation he had constantly declared himself hostile to clerical government; but, on the other hand, he had always strutted in the garb of the Prelature as a Consistorial advocate; nor had he at any time, under the constitutional system, been put forward by public opinion as a genuine or tried friend of freedom. The advocate Federico Galeotti was a retiring person of moderate opinions, who accepted the offer of political power solely to meet the wishes of others, and because he believed that he was therein discharging his duty as a good citizen. Who Mariani was, it is hard to tell: obscure originally, obscure while in power, obscure when out. He came from Subiaco; as a Roman mountaineer, he was simple, cloddish, and credulous, while he had the pedantry of a village oracle just come up to town. Now for Pius, now for the constitution, now royalist, now republican; he was anything, because nothing. To conclude: Sterbini was the brains of the Government; Armellini its tongue; Galletti its showman.

CHAPTER V.

NOTICES OF THE POSITION OF THE OTHER ITALIAN STATES. — NAPLES; THE BOZZELLI MINISTRY; ITS PROCEEDINGS. — TUSCANY; PROMISES AND MEASURES OF THE GUERRAZZI MINISTRY. — DISORDERS DURING THE ELECTIONS. — SICILY; RUGGIERO SETTIMO AND THE MINISTERS. — PLANS OF THE NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT. — ARMAMENT. — ENGAGEMENTS AND BOMBARDMENT OF MESSINA. — RAVAGES THERE. — INTERPOSITION OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH ADMIRALS. — NOTE OF SIR W. TEMPLE. — VENICE; ATTEMPT BEFORE MARGHERA. — BLOCKADE. — CAVALLINO CARRIED ON OCTOBER 22. — ACTION AT MESTRE ON OCTOBER 26. — SACRIFICES OF THE VENETIANS; THEIR NOBLE CHARACTERS AND ACTS. — LOMBARDY; THE LOMBARD CONSULTA. — PIEDMONT; OBSERVATIONS ON THE ANGRY HUMOURS THERE. — DECLARATION BY THE OPPOSITION DEPUTIES. — RESIGNATION OF THE PINELLI ADMINISTRATION; HIS SPEECH. — FORMATION OF THE GIOBERTI MINISTRY. — ITS PROGRAMME SET OUT. — ITS FIRST ACTS.

IT will now be well to turn our eyes afresh towards the other States of Italy.

The Parliament of Naples was prorogued, on the 5th of September, until the close of November; and it became plain that the King was revolving the idea of some contrivance to destroy, either by craft or by force, institutions which fear had conceded, and fear now sought to betray. The Ministry of Bozzelli gave out, that they remained in power to save endangered freedom; but the Deputies were insulted all the time by bullies, the police was under no discipline, the press uncurbed by superintendence, troops were pa-

raded to overawe, and a rabble feeed to insult the citizens. Naples presented the image of a conquered town; its government of a hostile power. If it was by such proceedings that the Ministers thought to rescue free institutions from the Palace plots, they were indeed infatuated, and were throwing away honour and reputation to no possible purpose. Just as rulers, aware of their own rights and energies, ought to deal with actual rebellion, not by mean concessions and hypocritical caresses, but by resolute action, so should the treachery of Courts, the cravings of despotism, the conspiracies of faction against infant constitutions, be encountered with determined resistance. One concession entails another and another; if made to a riotous populace, it hurries them down the precipice of revolution; if to a Sovereign frantic for the recovery of lost absolutism, or to an anti-liberal policy, it replunges them into inevitable servitude. The experience of these last years ought to have instructed the friends of constitutional monarchy, that they are bound to learn how to resist the seductions both of a meretricious popularity and of courtly favour. But not so the Ministers at Naples, who, if they were not deceivers, were deceived, and became the cat's-paw of the violators of plighted faith. They were depraved, or else they were besotted; such is the verdict of history. Moreover, they were foes to Italy, for they loved her not; nor did they (the worse for them) glow with generous pride at being born of her, nor with holy indignation at her oppression, nor with the lofty yearning to make this

ill-starred parent of all who dwell between Etna and the Alps her own mistress. The Piedmontese they envied without emulating; they dreaded the dynasty of Savoy, yet could not manage to give an Italian baptism to a Bourbon tribe, by bringing it for once into battle for their country's independence; they were full of feuds, jealousies, and dirty deeds. They recalled the tenth regiment of the line from the plains of Lombardy; they received with wry faces the Cavaliere Griffoli, sent by the Capponi Ministry to negotiate the Italian League. Simple fear at this time swayed the destinies of Naples. When the Palace took alarm at the new convulsions, of which, in October, Vienna was the victim, it showed a leaning towards concession, convoked the electoral colleges to fill the vacant seats, and made some talk about ministerial changes; but after Vienna was subdued, it took no account of the disinclination to the Ministry which the country had evinced by electing and re-electing men noted for their love of freedom, but retained it in office, and pursued a course of fraud and violence. The Parliament had been prorogued to the 30th of November. After the occurrences at Rome, a new prorogation was declared, on the 28th, to the 1st of February. When the Pope had reached Gaeta, the King applied himself wholly to the duties and the advantages of hospitality; his Government to cabals for withdrawing the countenance of Pius IX. from Italy and freedom.

We left sailing Tuscany at the juncture, when Guerrazzi and Montanelli, having won the seat of

power, were making ready to reinvigorate her with the panaceas of democracy and the marvel-working Constituent. To hear them, one would have imagined they were to restore the finances, reduce the taxes, reorganise the municipalities, reinforce the Civic Guard, civilise the police, prepare an army for the war, and crown Italy the Queen of free nations. They even professed a regard for public order: "woe be to those who break it," wrote Guerrazzi by telegraph to his friends at Leghorn, whom he had trained to break, and to gain by breaking it. But he who stirs up the mob is not the man to control it: the democratic Ministry was doomed, whether it would or not, to slavery under the populace of Leghorn, its founder and its progenitor; to accept from it suggestions and terms; to be on a footing of familiarity with all the spouters and agents of the sects that swarmed in Tuscany; to cram the youth with irrational enthusiasm and delusive hopes; nay, at times to throw itself on the mercy of the agitators from the streets. There was no army, and fine speeches would not make one, though they did indeed suffice to complete the demoralisation of the scanty and indifferent soldiery, already afflicted with such disorder, that they had actually put to a cruel death Giovanetti, a veteran who commanded them, and was one of the bravest and most respected persons in Tuscany. The Florentines were ill pleased, and retired from town to their villas; nor could they excuse the Duke for giving over himself and the State to these new Ministers. As the moderate party had a

majority in Parliament, the Administration dissolved the Council of Deputies, and, under the pretext of taking measures for the public safety, they provided for their own ascendancy, by hiring police-constables from among the herds of the turbulent and of the refugees, who, just as previously they kept no bounds or measure in their senseless and wicked cravings, so subsequently they proved, not the bulwark of the city, but its pest. Meanwhile the meetings for the election of new Deputies were held; and the friends of the Ministry, foreseeing an unfavourable result, determined to use force. Guerrazzi went to Leghorn on the 23rd of November, the day for the new elections. At Florence, Siena and Pisa, the rioters smashed the ballot-boxes, and put the voters to flight. Such was the support, that ultra-Liberalism gave to liberty! The Government, whether from approval, or from inability to stop these proceedings, let them alone till all was over, when they denounced them, and ordered an inquiry to be made: if, however, there was a trial, there never was, while the democratic Ministry lasted, a judgment or a sentence. The ballots were repeated, and some friends of the Ministers chosen, but neither so numerous nor so trusty as possibly they hoped. The country tolerated, but did not conform; it let them have their way: nor, when the Sovereign acquiesced in this work of demolition, could the Constitutionalists behave otherwise.

In Sicily, all terms of arrangement with the King of Naples had become impracticable; and, as he was

meditating hostile measures, the Sicilians naturally prepared for self-defence. Ruggiero Settimo was still at the head of the Government; a man of the old stamp of virtue, unique rather than rare in these times, when all that is not inferior is but middling. The Island, confiding in him with spontaneous and universal veneration, paid obedience to his authority. The Ministers were men conspicuous for fortune, for nobleness of birth and mind, for abilities and acquirements; nor were they less averse to licentious theories and wild experiments, than they were anxious for independence, resolute in defending their rights and honour, and watchful over their free institutions. The judgment of history may indeed abide in suspense as to the proceedings by which the door was closed against any accommodation with Naples, at a moment when Italy was crying for help from all her sons; but no one, writing in the spirit of a freeman, will bring himself to hand down to posterity any but an honourable record of the men who conducted the Sicilian revolution. High democratic doctrines throve not on that soil, and the republican sects made no head; but the aversion towards the Bourbons was inveterate and well-grounded. Compacts had been strained beyond belief, the guarantees of foreign Powers set at nought, engagements broken, promises betrayed; then there was insular pride, and an epoch favourable to political change. Add that England herself, formerly the guardian of Sicilian freedom, and the mediatress in the recent crisis, admitted the claims of the Island. But the Government of Naples

would have no other issue than the sword. Count Ludolf — the very same who was Minister in Rome, and who, under the impulses of fear, had shouted for liberty loud enough — flew to London and to Paris, giving out that the oppressed Sicilians only wanted a demonstration of troops from Naples, to throw themselves into the arms of their beloved King; and those Governments let it be understood that they would not interpose, perhaps in the hope that the way for negotiation might once more be opened. On the 1st of September, accordingly, the Neapolitan ships, laden with soldiers, with artillery, and all manner of powerful engines of destruction, set sail for Messina, cast anchor before it, and summoned it to surrender, with liberal promises in case of compliance, and frightful threats upon refusal. The former were despised, and the latter defied. On the 3rd, the Neapolitans commenced the conflict; but they were speedily driven back to their ships, which rained bombs on the hapless city. The Palace of the Municipality took fire on the very first day; the flames then seized churches, houses, public monuments; whole families found their death and their grave beneath the ruins. For almost five days the horrible spectacle was prolonged; the Neapolitan strategy was to have demolition and conflagration for its base. The Sicilian soldiery sallied forth, and the people of the town came down to encounter the Swiss and Neapolitan bands in open field, and fought with desperate valour, though in vain. Messina was overwhelmed, not subdued: her people abandoned their native place, and chose rather

to wander homeless through the Island than to bow their necks to the conqueror. Resistance was now over; the Sicilian banner licked the dust; yet the savage bombardment was continued: it lasted forty-eight more hours, during which the troops carried sword and rapine amidst such of the townsmen and their dwellings as had escaped from the fire and the ruins, and spread desolation even to three miles' distance from the suburbs. Then the Admirals of France and England, horror-stricken, required the Neapolitans to desist, and imposed on both parties a truce. Europe was filled with the report of the atrocities committed at Messina, and weighty are the records of it that remain.

It was thus that Sir W. Temple, British Minister at Naples, characterised it in a note addressed to the Prince of Cariati, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Naples: —

"The Governments of Great Britain and France deeply deplored the calamities which a renewal of hostilities in Sicily was inevitably calculated to produce, but they did not deem the case to be one which justified a forcible interference on their part to prevent the King of Naples from employing the means at his command for re-establishing his authority in Sicily.

"The expedition therefore sailed, and the operations of the Neapolitan troops against Messina were begun and carried on without interruption; and, if hostilities had been conducted according to the usual practices of civilised nations, and had the attacks been solely directed against armed opponents instead of being equally aimed at the extermination of the unresisting and helpless inhabitants, the Naval Commanders would no doubt have continued to preserve their neutral position.

"But the barbarities committed at Messina revolted the feelings of the British and French Admirals; and unable to stand by and remain passive spectators of such scenes as were then enacting, those officers took upon themselves the responsibility of calling upon the contending parties to establish a suspension of hostilities with a view to negotiation under the auspices of their two Governments; such armistice to last until it was known that their act would be sanctioned by their Governments." *

The news of the calamity of Messina greatly excited the Parliament and the Government of the Island, seated at Palermo: it stimulated hatred without subduing courage.

Withdrawing our eyes from this fraternal carnage, it is a relief to direct them on a point where also man suffers and Italian flesh is lacerated, but not by Italians in intestine strife; namely, to high-hearted Venice, withstanding the stranger for Italy's sake as well as for her own. I have already stated how, after the truce between the armies of Piedmont and of Austria had been concluded, Venice formed her resolution to maintain, through all extremities, the honour of the Italian flag. On the 13th of August, Tommaseo having declined the office, Graziani and Cavedalis were elected, by the assembly of the people, colleagues of the distinguished Manin. The troops collected in Venice were commanded by Pepe, a Neapolitan, an old and trusty friend of freedom, who was aided both in council and in action by a Commission of Defence, composed of General Bua, of

* Parl. Papers, presented by command, May 4. 1849, p. 602. The date is Dec. 29. 1848.

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Colonels Ulloa, Milani, and Mezzocapo, and of Captain Mainardi. The King of Naples had recalled from thence the few troops of the line and artillerymen who had followed Pepe beyond the Po; so that nobody had remained except the volunteers, with some officers of merit, among whom Ulloa was the most distinguished. The void caused by the departure of the Neapolitans was filled by legions of volunteers from the Roman States, who had flocked in to face the dangers of the Queen of the Lagunes. On the 15th of August the Austrians began to batter Marghera with field artillery, but retired after three hours, leaving on the field sixteen dead and twenty-two wounded. On the 17th of September, when the Sardinian fleet was gone, the blockade of Venice was notified at Trieste: yet it was not so close as to prevent their drawing supplies by sea from Romagna, which sent corn, cattle, wine, and vegetables from the ports of Ravenna and Comacchio. The advanced posts, and especially those of the garrisons in Marghera, Tre Porti, and Brondolo, had frequent brushes with the Imperialists; but there did not occur any action worthy of record, for neither were the Austrians in sufficient force, nor could the Venetians assume the offensive. The blockade continued, and became indeed at some points more strict; the youthful soldiery was keen to come to blows; and it was politic for Venice to try and open a passage to the Continent with a view to supplies. On the 22nd of October, Sile's Riflemen, to the number of four hundred, sallied at the point of dawn from the Fort of

Tre Porti, and moved towards Cavallino, where the Austrians had a garrison. Cavallino is on a site strong by nature, to be reached only along a narrow dyke, which hardly carries two men abreast. On the left are marshes and tangled thickets; on the right, the Pordelio canal, itself defended by two boats fitted with one-pounders, and its bank by a couple of cannon. While our troops were sallying from Tre Porti, three canoes, and two more boats carrying guns, flanked them along the canal. This unexpected attack took the enemy by surprise, and he fled, abandoning his guns, boats, and baggage. But the Venetians could not garrison that post, because it was seven miles from Tre Porti, whither they returned in the evening, as they had gained the object they had in view, namely, to open the communication for supplies. On the 26th of the same month, General Pepe ordered an attack on Mestre. At that town is the junction of the Padua and Treviso roads, and of the railway, which goes direct from Vicenza to Venice by the great Bridge of the Lagune. The railway is on the right; on the left a canal that touches Marghera, and debouches into the Lagune. The way from Venice and Marghera to Mestre is either by the railroad, or by the canal, or along its banks; the neighbouring ground is marshy. The Austrians held Mestre with 1500 men, whom, in case of need, they could support, from short distances, with 1000 more. The place was fortified by an entrenchment with a couple of guns on the railway, and another like it cut through the canal-bank. The object, on our side, was to break up the blockade by piercing

it at its centre; and they brought to the assault, divided into three columns, 2000 soldiers raw in arms, but burning with enthusiasm. The left sallied from Marghera, and comprised 450 of Sile's Riflemen, covered by five gun-boats carrying great guns. The centre, about 900 strong, was composed of the Lombard battalion, a company of Roman volunteers, and one Bolognese battalion with two guns. The right was manned by the battalion of Alpine Riflemen, three companies of the legion called "Free Italy," with two pieces of artillery, and a troop of horse; about 700 in all. The order of the assault was as follows: the left to charge the enemy's centre, and cut it off from the garrisons of La Rana and Fusina; the right to charge his left, along the canal-bank. The column proceeding in boats by the Lagune, and covered by the gun-boats, was to outflank his right, and, after landing, one part was to attack the garrison of La Rana, in concert with a detachment from our centre; the rest to halt at Malcontenta, and confront the enemy in his retirement from La Rana by the Padua road. I will not detail the vicissitudes of the action, which was long and furious; the courage of the young Italian soldiery was keen, their success complete. At the entrenchments, at Mestre, from house to house, the enemy was routed, slaughtered, captured; La Rana and Malcontenta taken, with six guns, ammunition, horses, baggage, and over 700 prisoners, including five officers, and the military chest. Such were the fruits of the victory. Nor was it a surprise; for amidst the papers

that the Austrian General left behind, on his retirement, was found written proof that, on the evening before, he had received from an informer an intimation of an immediate attack. Neither was it from feeble resistance, for the Austrians fought with abundant valour; almost all the gunners fell beside their guns, either dead or wounded, and they had about 300 rank and file either in the one class or the other. On our side there were 200, among whom one was worthy of particular and honourable remembrance, Alessandro Poerio, of Naples, who took arms for freedom at sixteen in 1820, and then became its poet as an exile, until Italy appeared to spring up for self-deliverance. He was among the first who entered Mestre; and, though wounded in the right leg, he still pushed on, driving the enemy before him at the sword's point, when he had the same leg shattered by grape-shot, and he fell with a shout for Italy. After five days of agony, he breathed his last in Christ, with a resigned will, and calling on his mother and his country.

The Venetians were unable to hold Mestre long; and after they had quitted it, taking with them their booty and the prisoners and guns, the enemy returned thither, and took savage vengeance.

Pepe was desirous to try new and greater enterprises; but the Government would not allow him, as they were checked by the instances of the Consul of France, from whence at that time they hoped to get the succours which they had asked. Meanwhile they set about fortifying the Lagune, and strengthen-

ing all the works of defence, drilling and training the troops, about 18,000 in number; not all, however, fit for service, for the disease of the place, periodical intermittent fever, had made many of them weak and sickly. They likewise sent Tommaseo as their envoy to France, while they sought among the States of Italy pecuniary aid. Of this they had long stood in extreme need, so that the citizens had given their plate, their moveables of value, and all they could, to their afflicted country; a pattern of self-devotion unique, rather than rare, in modern times. The city, too, remained tranquil, nor had faction sway there as in the other Italian towns; for Manin had the secret of cherishing the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice, while he kept the people in bounds, and defended order. Justly, then, have I said, that, when the eye turned towards Venice, the spirit was consoled and the heart enlarged; because history there meets with noble men and noble acts, and a sacred adversity not profaned by such crimes, and by such degraded political harlequins, as we have seen in the other parts of Italy.

And now a few sad words for Lombardy, under the yoke of the stranger and the soldier; her only law, that most stern law of war. Three hundred thousand of her people had shunned the sight and the ovations of the enemy, repairing for the most part to Piedmont, close at hand; the remainder reserved and gloomy from the dread of spite and vengeance. Milan and the other chief cities were well nigh deserted: there were neither banquets, plays, dances, nor assemblies

for recreation. The Provisional Government had established itself at Turin under the name of the *Consulta* for Lombardy, and it was on a footing of alliance and amity with the Piedmontese authorities: while the most distinguished among the exiles from the Duchies of Parma and Modena had likewise a voice in its deliberations. But Piedmont itself, too, was ill at ease. Rarely do the minds of men settle, after a great reverse, into that repose and serenity, out of which must flow the virtues restorative of nations. The pride of man knows not how to confess itself in fault, and lays the blame on others. Few, too, are the truly resolute: most men show their resolution in abusing their competitors, cursing their fortune, and blackening the acts and intentions of opponents. And the Italians outdo all other nations in this ill-starred vice of reciprocating slanders, and pitching to and fro their imputations and upbraidings upon disaster. Many of us think ourselves fine fellows, if we can abuse roundly and trust nobody, and begin to feel all is right so soon as neither any authority remains firm nor any reputation inviolate. Their way of embodying the idea of Democracy seems to lie in equalisation of infamy: they go about exclaiming, that the people ought not to stoop before any human being, however great; as if Heaven would make war and direct affairs for the people; as if States could subsist without statesmen, and armies conquer without generals. After the victories of the enemy, far from rallying in concord under that banner of misfortune, which, for all noble souls, is a

sacred one, the Italians divided themselves into as many camps as there were classes, or cities, or individuals of any popular repute: the frantic factions set about stirring up the troops against their commanders, the burghers against the nobles, the populace against people of property, subjects against their kings, one royal dynasty against another; Florence, Rome, Milan, Naples, against Turin; nay, Genoa itself against its own Subalpine capital. If a hope existed either of an honourable peace, or of renewed hostilities, it was wholly in the Subalpine King and people; and yet the Italian factions were hostile and troublesome to Piedmont in a degree that might have distanced even Vienna. Great was the virtue of that country, and the endurance of her Princes, people, and army; but she was smarting, and it was no easy matter to pluck up courage for a fresh effort. Even in the Parliament, party was vehement and keen; and the very men who held in common the love of liberty and independence were at variance. The armistice was denounced, just as though, after the disasters of Custoza and Milan, any alternative had been open except either a truce or utter annihilation: the negotiations for peace, and the mediation, were reviled: some wanted to renew the war without either men or money: others held it was unreasonable, and that they ought indeed to stand prepared, but not to undervalue the mediation of France and England. The Ministry, called that of Perrone and Pinelli, adhered to this opinion, and were opposed by Gioberti, who was vehemently applauded by the Clubs, the refugees,

and the enthusiastic youth. Genoa was in disorder; and the ailments of the State, in the face of a foe victorious and exulting in our broils, grew from day to day. On the 26th of November, the Opposition Deputies signed a declaration, in which they ascribed all the calamities of Italy to what they called the policy of expectation, while they reproached the Ministers with excessive bitterness. As the public grew more and more impatient, the Ministers asked leave of the King to retire; and, when they had obtained it, Pinelli announced the fact to the Deputies in the following highminded address: —

"In the critical circumstances of our country, so much the more critical as their solution draws nearer, the need of an Administration, strong in the support of a secure Parliamentary majority, becomes every day more apparent.

"The Ministry, which has proceeded throughout its course with the most cordial agreement among its members, is prepared to answer for the whole of its acts: the censure aimed at one lights, of necessity, on all. Certain votes of the Chamber, within these last days, have made them aware, that that majority, with which alone a Government can pursue its path unembarrassed, is not sufficiently decisive to afford to the present Ministry the requisite stability of action.

"We have need of union: and if certain suspicions, although conceived, as in our conscience we feel, without warrant, yet may operate as an obstacle to this union of will and strength, our duty is to address ourselves to the removal of the ill-omened division.

"With these ideas, the Ministers have unanimously resolved to return into the hands of the Sovereign the power that had been confided to them.

"In retiring, we make an appeal to the patriotism of all

those who sit in this Chamber, to combine together, putting all differences of opinion in abeyance, with the single aim of imparting a quick, certain, and vigorous movement to whatever Government the King shall entrust with the conduct of public affairs; so that it may be enabled to reunite us at the common goal of our desires, when it shall have liberated Italy from the stranger, and constituted a powerful kingdom, to be the permanent bulwark of the freedom and independence we shall have acquired."

Several days passed before a new Ministry could be put together. The charge had been committed by the King to Gioberti, who by his great name had increased the weight of the Opposition in public opinion. He was at length enabled to form it; and he inaugurated it with a declaration which I think it right to consign to history, as the first act of an Administration which took so large a share in the affairs of Rome and of Italy. Here it is:—

"*Programme of the Ministry of Piedmont, read to the Chamber of Deputies at the Sitting of the* 16*th of December*, 1848.

"Gentlemen,

"Summoned by our most August Sovereign to the conduct of public affairs in times of the utmost difficulty, we should have declined the charge, had we sought for guidance in our own inadequate resources, rather than in our patriotic affection and our duty as good citizens. Having then agreed to assume it, we could wish to explain to you, in detail, what will be our policy, and the tenour of our course; but the very novelty of such an office, and the straits of the times, preclude it. Earnest and anxious, before all things, to shorten as much as possible the Ministerial crisis, we have been unable to give so much as a glance at the formidable account

we shall be bound to render: so that we must, of necessity, confine ourselves to stating, with brevity, the maxims which will guide our Administration. These are not, indeed, new, since we have several times had occasion to state and justify them in your hearing: we can truly add, that in the struggle lately waged for the infant liberties of Italy, they are the oldest, as being those out of which our national resurrection took both its rise and its growth.

"The two principal, fundamental, and comprehensive heads, Gentlemen, of our policy are, the championship of our nationality, and the development of our institutions. Italian nationality has for its two poles the independence of the Peninsula, and its union. Independence is partly political and partly moral: in the first aspect it utterly excludes the dominion of strangers; in the second it rejects every kind of influence from abroad repugnant to the honour of the country. Not such, undoubtedly, are the amicable suggestions, and the peace-making interpositions, of those foreign Powers which are allied with us in the bonds of sympathy and kindred institutions: far from affording matter for censure, these redound not a little to our credit, for highly creditable it is, that the most illustrious of the nations should take an interest in our affairs.

"But, in order that foreign good offices may not disparage the national dignity, it is requisite that they should be coupled with domestic co-operation. The several States of Italy, inasmuch as they make up one single country, are locked together in the closest and gentlest bonds of brotherhood. If, however, there arise in any of them a quarrel between province and province, or between Prince and people, who can with so much propriety offer to act the peace-maker, as the other Italian States? We are grateful to foreign Powers, if they too contribute their aid: but let us see that their alacrity do not upbraid our hesitation. In proportion as the several Italian Governments shall themselves be jealous guardians and watchmen over the common independence, they will the less brook its infringement by

others: and if one or other of them shall have occasion for the assistance of a friend, it will itself so behave, that in order to get brotherly service in return, it need not be obliged to look beyond the Alps.

"Italian independence cannot be achieved without the aid of arms: to this point, then, we shall apply our utmost care. But if we be asked the precise time when we shall resume them, we can make no other answer than that one we have already given to this very Chamber. For when we were questioned, whether the war would now be seasonable, we could not give any reply at once direct and full; inasmuch as, for that purpose, we should have required a minute and wary survey of the military preparations in all their branches, because mere summary reports do not suffice for forming a solid judgment. As, then, we have but just entered on the management of public affairs, we are no more able than before to meet the wishes of the querists. But we can assure you, on our honour, that we shall employ all our energy and anxiety to accelerate the moment when the courage of the Subalpine army shall but derive a stimulus from its misfortunes; and for this end we shall make use, with a manly resolution, of all the means that may be at our command.

"Nor will the Anglo-French mediation, of which the proceedings are drawing near their close, be an hindrance or a delay to the war. To cut them short when they are about to cease, must be useless, for they do not in any manner impair the freedom of our measures; and might be mischievous, were it to be construed to the disparagement of the mediating Powers. If the mediation fail to confer on us that absolute self-controul to which we aspire (and this issue we ourselves have anticipated all along), still our forbearing to cut the knot of it when just about to unravel itself, will serve for a token of the high regard which we bear to two friendly nations, so noble and generous as England and France. It is no result of their disposition towards us, which is excellent, that the mediation has not fulfilled its design, but

of the tenacity, procrastination, and arts of the enemy, which have opposed an insuperable barrier to their good will.

"Union, Gentlemen, is the other fundamental condition of Italian nationality. Already you have formally initiated this union, when you confirmed by a parliamentary decision the spontaneous wish of the people. We shall apply our minds to the fulfilment of what you thus began, with a view to rendering the magnanimous measure you have passed an enduring and perpetual fact. Shall we effect it? It is our lively hope: but for this we could not have accepted so very weighty a charge. Yet hopes, even the most reasonable, do not amount to an absolute certainty: and we do not dissemble the impediments that may cross our design. But in the worst event, should necessity baffle all our endeavours, we never will, in point of principle, renounce a political creed that for us is sacred and inviolable: and, if we are unable to give it practical effect, we shall cede our post to those who, with different opinions, may bow to an inevitable result, and not thereby betray their own consciences. So long, therefore, as we retain the dignities with which the Sovereign has honoured us, you may rest assured that we shall proceed with confidence to renew your enterprize, and shall not despair of the fortunes of Italy.

"A federation of the various states of the Peninsula must be the corner-stone of union. This brotherly compact cannot be solemnised in a befitting manner, suited to the civilization of the age, unless the people concur in it with the free Governments. We re-echo from the heart the patriotic cry, which has risen up from various parts of Italy; we eagerly adopt 'the Italian Constituent' for our ensign. We shall address ourselves with zeal to concerting with Tuscany and Rome the readiest and fittest mode of convoking such an Assembly, which besides conferring upon Italy a political unity, without prejudice to the self-government of the several States of the country, or to their rights, will make it easy to turn their united strength to account for the purpose of their common redemption.

"The development of our institutions depends mainly upon the harmony between constitutional monarchy and democratic influences. We are warm and earnest advocates of monarchy thus tempered, not certainly through any instinct of servitude, or prejudice, or custom, or interest, but upon principle: and we make it our boast herein to tread in the steps of our Sovereign, who, having spontaneously agreed, an example most rare in history, that his people should be free, so rises above all vulgar sentiments, that his soul is prepared for sacrifice even the most extended. So that, if he still enjoins us to guard the crown and the monarchy, he does it in the conviction that it is the form of Government needful for the weal of Italy. This political creed is also our own, deeply convinced as we are that nothing but constitutional monarchy can endow our country with unity, force, and power, to face both intestine disorder and the attacks of strangers.

"Yet monarchy, if severed from popular sympathies, could not meet the wants and the wishes by which the nations are now stimulated and inflamed. On this account we readily accede to the wish expressed by many for *a democratic ministry*, and we will do our best to give it practical effect. Democratic we will be, in taking especial care of the hard-worked, and of the unfortunate classes, and in our vigorous efforts to protect and instruct, to better and refine the impoverished multitude, by exalting it to the condition and dignity of a people. Democratic we will be, by our rigid maintenance of an inviolate equality for all citizens in the face of their common laws. Democratic we will be, in promoting, with vigilant solicitude, the interests of the Provinces, and in our watchfulness not to postpone them to those of the Capital. Democratic we will be, in embellishing the Monarchy with popular institutions, and in adapting to their tone all our public measures, those, in particular, which have reference to the public security, the constitution of the municipalities, and their Palladium, that is to say, the National Guard.

"Democracy, thus defined, need alarm no man, and should

prompt no misgivings. In this sense alone does it answer to its name, or is it truly worthy of the people as a principle virtuous and high-minded, the ally of order, of property, and of the Throne; as the most averse to licence, to violence, and to blood; and not only as not repelling those classes which were formerly termed the privileged, but as extending to them the hand of friendship, and inviting them to combine with itself in the sacred work of conferring safety and happiness on their country.

"The distinguishing characteristic of such democracy lies herein, that it is in the highest degree harmonising; and we rejoice to be enabled to close our address with this idea of harmony. Gentlemen, we have stated to you our principles with candour: but they cannot become fruitful, nor pass from the sphere of ideas to that of practice, without the efficient aid of the nation, and of those who represent it. Such, then, is the request which we address to your generosity, not wholly undeserving in this respect, that if our slender powers stand in need of your co-operation, we yet feel our spirit to be one worthy of your confidence.

"VINCENZO GIOBERTI.	VINCENZO RICCI.
"RICCARDO SINEO.	CARLO CADORNA.
"ETTORE SONNAZ.	DOMENICO BUFFA.
"URBANO RATTAZZI.	SEBASTIANO TECCHIO."

The new Piedmontese Ministry, which, in compliance with the fashion of the time, took the name of democratic, sent Buffa forthwith to Genoa, to keep down its unruly temper, and dispatched the Marquis of Montezemolo and Monsignor Riccardi, Bishop of Savona, as Ambassadors extraordinary to Gaeta.

CHAP. VI.

EFFECT OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE CONSTITUENT ON THE TEMPER OF THE DEPUTIES. — STERBINI AND HIS WAYS. — AVERSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS TO HIM. — AND OF THE REPUBLICANS. — REMAINS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS. — PLAN OF PANTALEONI. — PLAN OF AUDINOT. — THE PARLIAMENT CLOSED. — TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION BY THE GIUNTA FOR A CONSTITUENT. — REMARKS ON THE PARLIAMENT OF ROME, AND REPLY TO THE ACCUSATIONS OF FOREIGNERS. — THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. — RESIGNATION OF GALLENO. — OF THE PRELATES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF PROVINCES. — OF CARDINALS MARINI AND AMAT. — OF THE LAY PRO-LEGATES, EXCEPT ROTA. — HIS CASE. — NEW PRESIDENTS OF PROVINCES APPOINTED. — WEAKNESS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. — THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY; ITS OFFERS TO THE SOVEREIGN. — ITS PROJECT OF ARMED RESISTANCE TO THE REVOLUTION. — VIEWS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLERGY AND THE PARTISANS OF ABSOLUTE CLERICAL RULE. — GROWING POWER OF THE REPUBLICANS. — ACCURSI. — AFFILIATION OF THE CLUBS. — PREPARATIONS TO CONTEST THE ELECTIONS. — TEXT OF THE MONITORY OF HIS HOLINESS, DATED JANUARY 1.

The announcement, that a Constituent Assembly would be convened, stripped the Parliament of the trifling authority it had retained: both the one and the other Council regarded with fear, or with disdain, the men who had placed themselves in the van of the popular fortunes. Sterbini, who, whether as being master or as being servant to the Club of the People, had the swarms of workmen fed by the public money at his beck, behaved haughtily to those relics of the

Constitutional Councils, and would not brook their differences from him. Of a turbulent temper, a thorough-paced mad-cap, without courage or civil prudence, he had all the properties of a mob-despot; precipitancy, fear, avarice, pride; a sway stronghanded, disorderly, and daring through fear, was the only one that suited him. The Sterbinian Dictatorship bore hard on the Constitutionalists, and was misliked by the Republicans: since, now that the Sovereign was in exile, the city disquieted, and men's minds in expectation, they wanted to complete the revolution, and to take its helm. Sterbini was afraid lest the Mazzinians should interfere with his authority: against them, therefore, as persons arrived from abroad, he whetted local jealousies at the very moment when he was disseminating mistrust of the Parliament; one day he would reassure the timid, the next he frightened them; now he would arouse disorder, now repress what he had himself aroused; and by such vulgar stratagems he thought to govern Rome, her States, and her fortunes, while he could not even govern himself, so unruly were his temper and his understanding. Thus the Constitutionalists thought meanly of him, as being the individual chiefly responsible for all those disorders at Rome which ended in the catastrophe of the middle of November, while the Mazzinians abhorred him as one who seemed to be an hindrance to the accomplishment of their designs. His ill fame pervaded the Provinces, and blackened the character of the Government, in which there were really honourable men; and not the least among the causes which

prompted the desire and demand for a popular assembly were humiliation and chagrin at the Dictatorship of Sterbini.

Galletti, who had been the Pope's Minister of Police in three Constitutional Administrations, and was now a fourth time in office by the will of the Club of the People, imagined in good faith that he was still Minister and General to the Pope, declared he would keep within the terms of the Statute, looked sour upon Sterbini, and wavered, now this way, now that.

Thus the design of convoking the people to give their votes had no serious obstacle to encounter, either in Rome or in the provinces. The High Council, exhausted in numbers and force, had ceased to sit: as though extinct, it was no longer named. The Council of Deputies, again, dragged on but a consumptive existence. In vain was it to look there for spirit, or activity, or purpose; except in Canino, always chattering and boisterous, Pantaleoni, ever bold and straightforward, Audinot, upright and aiming at the lesser evil, and Potenziani, with Ninchi and a few others, who ill endured Sterbini's abortion of a government. Pantaleoni wanted to set about proving by argument, that the Constituent would be fatal to the State and to liberty; Audinot sought to introduce a bill, under which the Council of Deputies and the High Council should hold the government, by the hands of Commissioners, until the meeting of a General Assembly, which was to refer the weighty questions, relating to the temporal power of the Popes, to the disposal of the Federative Constituent, and to settle them by

agreement with the other Italian Governments. But Sterbini got scent of these projects, and pressed upon his colleagues to send the Deputies about their business without further delay: while Accursi, who managed Armellini's mind for him, drew him with ease to the same view; so that, on the 26th of December, the Parliament came to an end, by a decree of the *Giunta*, which on the 29th published the following Proclamation:—

"*To the Inhabitants of the Roman States.*

"The Supreme *Giunta*, in concert with the Ministry, has applied its anxious attention both to framing a Bill for the convocation of a general Assembly of Deputies of the people, desired by the whole country, and demanded by the urgency of our present political condition; and likewise to getting it entertained and adopted by the Councils, in order that an unanimous concurrence might thus supply a form of Government having unity and force, and capable of withstanding the menaced shock of our divisions and our social disorganization.

"But the *Giunta* and the Ministry have seen their efforts frustrated, because, from want of a quorum, the Legislative Councils have never come to discuss, much less to adopt it. Meantime another difficulty arose from the resignation of the Senator Prince Corsini, which deprived the *Giunta* of one of its members.

"On the other hand, the urgency of the juncture grew more pressing, and danger increased with every hour's delay; so that to postpone the measure, which offered itself as the only means of public safety, would have been to ruin the State, and to betray the confidence of the people. Accordingly, the members of the Ministry, with the residue of the *Giunta*, perceived that, as they were actually in power, it was their duty, in the face of so great a risk, to rise above their difficulties; and, after promulgating forthwith the law

above mentioned, to bear the weight of government provisionally during the interval until the convocation of the Assembly, saving entire the rights of all persons whomsoever. Any flaw in point of legality is rectified by the supreme law of the public good, which cures every act conducive to that end.

"The people cannot remain without a Government; and any people which seeks to deliberate about forming one, cannot be denied the means. Hence, we temporarily provide the former; and, seconding in the latter the universal will of the community, we yield to the force of necessity for the sake of the public weal.

"Guided, therefore, by this paramount law, we shall continue provisionally to conduct the public affairs, transacting individually the business of our departments, and consulting in common for whatever may not fall within our separate functions.

"To begin with the most pressing and weighty measure, namely the convocation of the desired General Assembly,

"We Decree and Ordain as follows:

"Having had before us the addresses and demonstrations of the Capital, as well as of all the Provinces, of the State;

"Also the note presented by the Supreme *Giunta* of State to the Ministry, and laid by the Ministry before the Chamber of Deputies;

"Considering that, where there is danger of a division among the Provinces, or of the dissolution of society, or even an imperious necessity for using the utmost promptitude and vigour for the relief of financial embarrassments, the Supreme Law of the public good requires the Nation to be assembled, in order that by means of a correct and universal representation, armed with absolute power, it may declare its will, and take all needful measures;

"Art. 1. A National Assembly is convoked in Rome, to represent, with full powers, the Roman State.

"Art. 2. Its purpose will be to take all the measures, which it may think fit, for settling the form in which to give a regular, complete, and stable organization to the common-

wealth, in conformity with the sentiments and tendencies of the entire population, or of its major part.

"Art. 3. The Electoral Colleges are appointed to meet on the 21st of next January, to choose Representatives of the People for the National Assembly.

"Art. 4. The elections shall be based upon population.

"Art. 5. The number of Representatives shall be 200.

"Art. 6. These shall be distributed among the existing Electoral districts; at the rate of two for each District.

"Art. 7. The suffrage shall be direct and universal.

"Art. 8. All persons shall be entitled to vote, being Roman subjects, having resided for a year, not being excluded or suspended, under a judicial sentence, from the exercise of civil rights, and if of 21 years of age.

"Art. 9. If, or when 25 years of age, all the said persons shall be qualified to sit.

"Art. 10. All the Electors shall poll at the chief place of the Electoral district. Every ticket shall have a number of places for names equal to the whole number of Representatives returnable by the Province.

"Art. 11. The vote shall be secret. No one can be returned as a Representative of the People by less than 500 voices.

"Art. 12. Each Representative of the People shall receive a compensation of two crowns *per* day throughout the Session. This payment may not be declined.

"Art. 13. The Ministers will issue instructions to regulate, in all details, the execution of this Decree.

"Art. 14. The National Assembly will open in Rome on the 5th of February next.

"Art. 15. This Decree shall be forwarded forthwith to all the Provinces, and published and posted in all the Communes of the State.

"F. CAMERATA. G. GALLETTI. C. E. MUZZARELLI.
"C. ARMELLINI. F. GALEOTTI. L. MARIANI."
"P. STERBINI. P. CAMPELLO.

"Rome, December 29, 1848.

Such was the end of the Parliament of Rome: which has fallen into ill repute in foreign countries, but undeservedly.

Assembled one month after that Allocution of the Pope, which had carried such alarm into the public mind, then keenly hot for the war of independence, the Roman Parliament ever proved itself a champion of that war, and constantly pressed upon the Sovereign the national cause, while it likewise remained always intent upon ways and plans of reconciliation. It was long since Europe had witnessed so profound, so universal a commotion; Thrones shattered, sovereigns degraded, subjects in their seats, empires crumbling, popular conventions, Constituent Assemblies, the right to nationality and to liberty trumpeted by monarchs and by peoples, the press without legal curb, everywhere the clash of arms, and an universal anticipation of brighter destinies and of revivals of the nations. In Italy, freedom permeated States corroded by despotism, as though rained down from heaven upon the communities that had once been its prey: the old frameworks were demolished, the new but loosely joined. There, too, a war of independence was to be waged at the very time when States had to be reformed and their citizens disciplined for freedom; on the one hand enthusiasm was wanted, on the other political prudence was indispensable. In the Roman States, we had liberties of yesterday, an unexpected war, and a Sovereignty of an anomalous nature, a caste both suspicious and stubborn, a laity just recovering from a humiliation of long standing, with resentments,

hatreds, misgivings: the Church and the State each impersonated in the same august individual, our civil institutions and policy ill severed from, if not amalgamated with, the ecclesiastical: thousands upon thousands of motives and occasions for collision, thousands of temptations, and numerous precedents of usurpation, lay before the Roman Parliament. Yet, considering the times, it was cautious and conciliatory. It never meddled with any of the arguments that relate to the spiritual authority; not even one of those, and many they are in Rome, which touch upon the canon law. When the Revolution broke out, the Parliament of Rome underwent dissolution rather than trespass on the Throne. What fault then have foreigners to find? Is it with our unprofitable debates, our windy rhetoric? But who are they that make the charge? Comes it from St. Paul's at Frankfort? or from the Parliament of Vienna, of Kremser, of Berlin, or of Paris? Who shall blame a handful of Deputies for having been unable to offer effectual resistance to insurrection, in Rome already its victim? In Rome, too, given over to its authors by her Sovereign, and by his Commissioners? Shall they, forsooth, who in Paris saw, at the breath of a few conspirators, a throne fall, a royal family go into exile, a King who had heaped on them honours and benefits become a wanderer? Or the men who, almost before the palace doors had closed on him, hurrahed for the Republic, and turned parasites of the victorious multitude? I have recorded the mistakes of our Parliament, and have deplored our lack

of energy; I have noted the vices and the faults both of individuals and of parties, and, with God's help, I will never flinch from my duty to declare the truth. But as my conscience would be wounded by a default of spirit to censure and set right the Italians, so it would be treason to History, did I not denounce the unjust accusations that foreigners let fly. If ever there was a period at which charity and tolerance between nation and nation, party and party, was needful, it is that now under discussion; nor, when the doings of 1848 are the theme, can there, as among Italians, Frenchmen, and Germans, be any rivalry except that of commiseration or reproof. Ill betide him who shall malign. If Italy's modern annals have foul pages, those of other nations are no "Book of gold." The Parliament of Rome has not, indeed, left a splendid memory, nor had it the means; but neither has it left a disgraceful one; and he, who shall follow the sequel of this narrative, will find, that the men who sat in it for the most part preserved their allegiance to that Constitutional Throne, of which they formed the legislative organ, not herein imitating the deputies of another nation who, within twenty years, broke their allegiance to two Crowns, and swore it to three Constitutions.

The Decree for convoking the Constituent, not assented to, nor subscribed by Corsini, was signed, as is seen in the document, by Camerata and Galletti in conjunction with the Ministers. There no longer, then, existed a Parliament, nor a *Giunta*, nor an Administration; but a Provisional Government, self-

appointed. Gallieno, commander of the National Guard, resigned his post, and those in power nominated in his stead Doctor Masi, then serving among the Volunteers, with the rank of Colonel. He, however, did not accept, and for some time the civic force had no regular head. The Prelates presiding over the Provinces, all resigned, some sooner and some later; except Bucciosanti, who, at Civita Vecchia, threw off not only the obligations, but even the garb, of the Prelature. Cardinal Marini, who governed the Legation of Forlì, had quitted it, and had betaken himself to reside in a convent of the Marches. Cardinal Amat had received the news of the convulsions when on his way to Rome. He halted awhile in Umbria, and then emigrated to Naples. Further, one after another, Manzoni, Spada, Zannolini, Bonfigli, Lovatelli, Fabbri, retired from their governments of Provinces: in short, every lay Governor, except Rota, at Perugia, who remained in office, not because he was a friend to subversion, but because, having requested directions and advice from Gaeta, he had never received an answer; and, because Bishops, civil Magistrates, and all orders of the community withheld him by their eager entreaties. Thus, then, our laity did not forfeit their faith to the Sovereign, nor did they bend to those changes in the Government, to which the Prefects of France had, a few months before, adapted themselves with so much ease. The Provinces remained for a short time in charge of the *Consultas* of the Legation, until the Provincial Government had appointed new Presidents:

of whom a part had done good service to their countrymen, and were worthy of the public esteem. But, as in the Capital, so in the Provinces, the new Government was devoid of either authority or strength, because there was no source of either, except the good pleasure of the clique that obtained distinction in the Clubs by their enthusiasm, genuine or feigned, and by the vigour of their lungs. Nor could it be otherwise, now that the Pontifical Government was deposed, and no other Government, having the consent of the inhabitants, was in existence. These, wearied and in doubt, were not concurring, but passive; because, abandoned by their Sovereign, and tossed by so many tempestuous vicissitudes, they had neither counsel nor fixed purpose; and also because in some cities there prevailed, not only this uncertainty and supineness, but the apprehension and the horror of political assassinations, such as those which remained still unpunished.

When the Constitutional party had been ousted, the men who in it were conspicuous and looked up to, could make no effectual effort for the public good, unless the Sovereign would either direct their counsels, or give his sanction to their aims. But neither he nor his Court, at any time, addressed to them one syllable of encouragement. Nay, more, they neither accepted their exertions and proffers, nor made any reply to their reiterated applications. The Constitutional party not only had kept up communications with Cardinal Castracane and Monsigner Roberti, in Rome, not only through the medium of Bevilacqua

and Ricci, had disclosed its views, and tendered its services to the Holy Father at Gaeta, not only through the distinguished Rosmini, with Montanari and Rignano, had recommended the Court to hold fast by the free institutions, but had decided on sending from Rome to Gaeta outright an accredited advocate or envoy, who was actually on his way, and broke off his journey only when made very sure that he would not be welcome. Thither afterwards repaired Doctor Fusconi, of Ravenna: he got a kindly reception, with assurances that the free institutions would be upheld; but no counsel or encouragement for the exertions of his friends. Nay more; when the Ministry of the 16th of November was actually at its last gasp, when a new Government, without credit or authority, was struggling in Rome for existence, and a portion of the Civic Guard, with its General, Gallieno, was resolved to fight for the Statute, the Constitutionalists there had determined upon running the risks of open resistance. Being of adequate numbers, and certain of help from a part of the Civic Guard, and of the Papal forces, they sought from Gaeta, through the medium of a trusty emissary, a sanction for the enterprize. Cardinal Castracane and Monsignor Roberti were privy to it, but they had not been disposed to assume the authority or the responsibility of a definitive approval, because the Constitutionalists had required, by way of condition, a guarantee for the safety of the free institutions, and for the concurrence of the Papal State in the Italian Federation. The draft of a document, in which these principles were

to be enunciated, was accordingly transmitted to Gaeta, and a prompt ratification of it, sought as a groundwork for the projected enterprize. Of this the Holy Father and Cardinal Antonelli had information; but they made no reply. I write on recent occurrences, to which living witnesses abound; and I therefore refrain from greater detail, in the hope that these notices may suffice to show the injustice of the accusations and upbraidings, which the deceivers and the dupes discharge against the Constitutionalists of Rome.

But what were the views, and what the proceedings, of the clergy and the partisans of an absolute clerical dominion, at the period during which the Constitutionalists were thus putting in jeopardy their own safety and repose? Since the time when the events of 1848 had inundated the world with novelty and wonder, when popular passions and ideas had grasped the sceptre and the sword, when, in the Roman States as elsewhere, the people, and the times of promise, were driven on past liberty into lawlessness, the clergy and their partisans had set us no honourable example. The very Sanfedists and the Centurions (a sect which, whatever may be said to the contrary, had existed, did, and still does exist) disbanded or skulked. If, in their private conversation, both the former and the latter testified their ill-content and their apprehensions of the future, or by this or that trick sought to do an ill turn to the free institutions, they did not, on the other hand, make any straightforward or resolute exertion to curb passion, to

secure the State, to defend the Sovereignty or the Sovereign. Rulers as they were, the clergy, with few exceptions, suffered the troubled waters to take their course headlong down the rapids: and, in their public speeches and acts, they seemed solicitous of nothing but the retention of their offices; at times cringing before the turbulent, to their own dishonour, and to the disparagement of all governing authority. The men who had been damaged in reputation, rank or fortune, through the reforms and political alterations, and those who had become notorious under the Gregorian misgovernment, joined with the restless agitators and the enemies of the Throne in venting abuse of Pius IX., and imputing to him all the public misfortunes. Many of them glowed with guilty joy at the death of Rossi, whom they could not forgive for his distinguished abilities, his skilful vigour in the management of States, and his determination to consolidate constitutional order in that of Rome. When, on the 16th of November, the city went into confusion, and the beleaguered palace saw the majesty of the Pontiff degraded, and the supremacy of the Sovereign trodden down, what resolution, what sign of emotion, did the clerical party show? Many a sample of its shame we shall gather from these records: we shall see it forswearing its habits and opinions to secure offices, rank, or life; we shall see it asking of the Almighty the maximum of outrage and of licence, in order to accelerate the destruction of every free institution: but neither fortitude nor virtue will be

found in it, nor any kind of courage, till the armies of the stranger shall have restored it to its absolute dominion.

By the close of the year, when the Constitutional party were deserted by the Sovereign and the Court, and the Absolutists were dastard or intimidated, the field was left to those whose project it was to make Rome the seat of the Italian Constituent, and to try there every experiment however hazardous. We shall presently see what cabals were got up by the Commissioners of the Tuscan Government, round which clustered at the time, for aid and countenance, all the agitators of the populace, all the gamblers in politics, all the emissaries of Mazzini. They were in glee at Mamiani's fall from power, and set to work upon ousting him utterly from the good opinion of that popular party, which had set its love upon him, and had at a former time so obstreperously applauded him. They kept an eye, too, on Galletti, because, although manageable, and chary of popular approval, yet, on account of all the offices he had filled, and of his commonly saying that they must proceed with caution, he had not the full confidence of the Mazzinian faction, which was now grasping at power. Accursi was the man whom they admitted to their secrets, and in whose hands, during the Provisional Government, centered the threads of the Mazzinian plot. Deputy to the Minister Armellini, he likewise found him in spirit and in brains; and twisted him, often without his knowledge, in any direction advantageous to that plot. The clubs were now established

throughout the State, in communication one with another, and in strict concert with those of Tuscany. Being all directed or controlled in chief by a body resident in Rome, and entitled the Committee of all the Clubs of Italy, they now constituted the grand social power, the sinews of sectarianism, to up-heave the tottering, and to uphold the rising Government. Meantime, they toiled without remission at the communications and agreements necessary to secure the election of men set upon extreme courses. They put up either youths of hot enthusiasm, or charlatans emboldened by their ignorance to talk on all subjects alike, or sectarian grey-beards, or republicans; the needy in preference to men of property, the uneducated in preference to the refined; because wealth and knowledge were eyed askance, and the common saying was, that the learned and the opulent should be mistrusted. Above all, they pushed the crusade against the Constitutionalists, abused under the name of moderates and *doctrinaires*: against these there was no calumny that they did not disseminate, no imputation that they did not launch. That body, however, had not yet resigned all idea and all hope of success in damming up the flood of revolution; and now that every other resource failed them, they made ready to contest the elections, to the best of their ability, with the extreme democratic party in its ascendancy. But during this period, the Holy Father promulgated, from Gaeta, the Monitory which follows:—

"PIUS PAPA IX.

"To our most beloved Subjects.

"Within this peaceful retreat, whither it has pleased Divine Providence to lead Us, that We might be able to utter our sentiments and our decisions with freedom, We dwelt on the anticipation that our erring children would testify their remorse for the sacrileges and crimes committed against persons in our service, of whom some have been slain, others subjected to the most barbarous outrages; to say nothing of those perpetrated in our own Palace, and against our own very Person. We have, however, received nothing but a bare invitation to return to our capital, without a word in condemnation of the above-mentioned crimes, and without the smallest guarantee to secure Us from the fraud or the violence of that same gang of madmen which is still tyrannising, with a barbarous despotism, over Rome and the States of the Church. We likewise stood in expectation, that the protests and decrees which We have issued would bring back to their duties of allegiance and obedience those who now, in the very capital of our States, do despite to and trample on both the one and the other. But instead hereof, a new and more monstrous act of undissembled treason and of sheer rebellion, audaciously done by them, has filled up the measure of our affliction, and, as it will sadden the Church at large, so likewise has kindled our own just indignation. We herein allude to that proceeding, in every sense detestable, by which it has been pretended to proclaim the meeting of a self-styled General National Assembly of the Roman States by a decree of the 29th of December last, in order to establish a new form of Government for the Pontifical dominions. Thus, by heaping iniquity on iniquity, do the authors and favourers of demagogic anarchy labour to destroy the temporal authority of the Roman Pontiff over the dominions of Holy Church, however inexpugnably founded on the most ancient and solid rights, and venerated, acknowledged, and upheld by all nations; cherishing and dissemi-

nating the idea that his Sovereign Power is open to discussion, or dependent on the whims of faction. We will spare our own dignity the degradation of dwelling on all the monstrous traits of that proceeding, not less execrable from the absurdity of its source than for the illegality of its forms and the impiety of its end. Still it belongs to the Apostolical Authority, with which, though unworthy, we are clothed, and to that responsibility which binds Us, in the presence of the Almighty, by the most solemn oaths, not only to protest, as We do in the most energetic and effectual manner, against the said proceeding, but likewise to denounce it in the face of the world as a prodigious and sacrilegious crime perpetrated to the infraction of our independence and sovereignty, and deserving the retribution threatened by both divine and human law.

"We are persuaded that, on receiving this shameless invitation, you will have been roused to an holy indignation, and will have spurned away from you a suggestion so criminal and scandalous. Nevertheless, in order that no one of you may be able to plead that he was misled by deceitful blandishments, and by the preachers of revolutionary theories, or unaware of the contrivances of the foes of all order, all law, all right, all true liberty, and of your own welfare, We think fit this day once more to raise and send abroad our Voice in such wise as to certify you beyond all doubt of the strict inhibition We lay upon you, of whatever class or condition, against taking any part in any meetings which may audaciously be held for the nomination of persons to be sent to the Assembly we have condemned. We simultaneously remind you, that this our absolute prohibition is sustained by the Decrees of our Predecessors and of the Councils, especially of the sacrosanct Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. c. xi. de Reform.), wherein the Church has over and over again fulminated her censures, and chiefly the Greater Excommunication, to attach *ipso facto* to any who shall dare to incur the guilt of any attack whatsoever upon the temporal Sovereignty of the Chief Pontiffs of Rome; which We now declare to you

to attach unhappily to all those who have taken part in the above-named act, or in any before it, aimed against the said Sovereignty, or who in any other manner and under whatever false pretext have molested, infringed, and usurped our Authority. If, however, We feel ourselves constrained in conscience to defend the sacred deposit of the patrimony of the Spouse of Jesus Christ committed to our care, by wielding the Sword of Justice given Us for the purpose by the same Divine Judge, yet neither can We ever forget that We hold on earth the place of Him, Who, even in the exercise of His Justice, never omits the use of Mercy. Lifting up, accordingly, our hands to Him, while We anew refer and commend to Him a cause so exceeding rightful, His cause more than ours, and while We once more aver our readiness, with the help of His mighty grace, to drain the cup of persecution even to the dregs for the defence and glory of the Catholic Church, which He for her salvation willed to be the first to drink, We will not desist from supplicating and conjuring Him to deign mercifully to hearken to the fervent prayers which, day and night, We never cease to put up to Him for the conversion and salvation of the wanderers. No day assuredly can dawn more glad and blithe for Us, than that on which it shall be given Us to see our children, from whose hands so much of tribulation and bitterness is now poured on Us, re-enter the Lord's fold. The hope of speedily enjoying a day so happy strengthens in Us with the recollection that prayers no less than universal, mount, in union with our own, to the Throne of the Divine Mercy, from the lips and from the hearts of the Faithful throughout the Catholic world, and incessantly urge and constrain* that Mercy to change the hearts of the sinners, and to bring them back into the ways of truth and of righteousness.

"Given at Gaeta, January 1. 1849.

"Pius PP. IX."

* La stimolano e la forzano. — Tr.

CHAP. VII.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE PERRONE MINISTRY TO PARETO, THE SARDINIAN ENVOY AT ROME, AFTER THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER. — PARAGRAPH FROM A DISPATCH OF HIS. — MISSION OF MONTEZEMOLO AND RICCARDI. — THEIR PROCEEDINGS AND ENDEAVOURS WITH THE HOLY FATHER. — LANGUAGE AND VIEWS OF HIS HOLINESS. — FAILURE OF THE REPRESENTATIONS AND COUNSELS OF THE SARDINIAN ENVOYS. — SECOND INTERVIEW, WITHOUT EFFECT: AS ALSO THIRD AND LAST. — INFLUENCE FROM THE CONVERSATION OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI. — OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTENTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PIEDMONT. — TEXT OF THE SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT MARTINI, NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER TO THE HOLY SEE. — COMMISSION TO THE DEPUTY BERGHINI FOR TUSCANY. — HIS CONFERENCES WITH GUERRAZZI AND MONTANELLI. — CONCLUSION OF THESE COMMUNICATIONS. — PASSAGE FROM A LETTER OF BERGHINI. — HIS PROCEEDINGS IN ROME. — CONVENTION NEGOTIATED WITH THE PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THERE. — WAVERING AND DUPLICITY OF THOSE IN POWER. — TEXT OF A DISPATCH FROM MUZZARELLI TO BERGHINI. — TEXT OF A DISPATCH FROM GIOBERTI TO BERGHINI.

At the period of the Roman disorders, the Perrone Ministry had instructed Pareto, Envoy from the King of Sardinia in Rome, to protect and defend the Holy Father from any outrage to the utmost of his power; adding, that in case His Holiness should quit Rome, leaving there a Government legally constituted, he should remain at his post: if, on the other hand, there should be a mere *de-facto* Government, he was then to consider his mission at an end. Perrone, however, added some words, which I transcribe textually.

"You will, notwithstanding, continue at Rome, and will, in this case, await the instructions which will be sent you when the Government shall be duly advised by you of the state of affairs. In any case, whoever be in power, and with whatever views, you will give them to understand, though informally and orally, just as if you were speaking your personal opinion, that the policy of the King's Government is to abstain from taking any share in discussions regarding matters temporal, which might arise between Sovereign and subject, and that we are scrupulous to respect the rights of all Governments on condition of their respecting ours. You will bear in mind that the independence of Italy is the principal aim which the King's Government has ever had in view, and which every day it has more and more at heart. The liveliest of our desires is to see the several communities of Italy combine for this great purpose, which can be achieved only through the union of their forces, never while they are divided."

When the Perrone Ministry had fallen, and when Pareto had repaired to Gaeta, whither the rest of the foreign ministers had preceded him, Gioberti, the new President of the Council of Ministers, accredited to the Pontiff, as has been already intimated, the Marquis Montezemolo, and Monsignor Riccardi, Bishop of Savona. They were charged to offer a suitable reception to the Holy Father at Nice, or in some other city more agreeable to him: and they were to encourage His Holiness, if he should think assistance needful, in order to restore the Constitutional system in his States, to request it from Italian rather than from foreign Sovereigns. Lastly, they were to tender the aid of Piedmont, in the name of King Charles Albert, who, in conversation with the

Marquis Montezemolo, had corroborated the sentiments of his First Minister, with many expressions of deference and devotion to His Holiness. The Sardinian envoys arrived at Gaeta on the 28th of December; and they were introduced on the following day to His Holiness by Cardinal Antonelli, to whom they handed an autograph letter of King Charles Albert, with a note from the President of the Council of Ministers, and opened the subject and purpose of their mission. The Pontiff welcomed and heard them with peculiar kindness: he returned thanks for the offers of King Charles Albert, and commended his distinguished piety and generous disposition; but proceeded to say that, as he had taken shelter at Gaeta from the accidental failure of a ship that was to have conveyed him to Majorca, he was reluctant, at such a juncture, to go to a greater distance from his subjects until every hope of providing for their peace, and for the re-establishment of his own authority, should have vanished. But after he had assigned this reason for his remaining in the kingdom of Naples, he subjoined, that he had written to the Governments of Europe, stating the recent events, and requesting their advice as to the manner of settling his dominions: and accordingly, he was not prepared to adopt any course whatever before he should have received the expected replies. The envoys of Charles Albert remarked, that, if His Holiness would listen to their entreaties, and accept their tender, it might be hoped that the good offices of Piedmont would be grateful to the Italian populations, and effectual in bringing back

the Roman States to repose and order; that the King's piety, and his devotion to the Pontiff, the religious character of the Sub-Alpine and Ligurian people, with the feelings and opinions of the President of the Ministers, afforded a security that the resolutions of the Piedmontese Government could not be modelled upon any but Catholic and Italian ideas and sympathies: they accordingly begged His Holiness to enhance the efficacy of the measures which they proposed, by some token of satisfaction or of assent, such as would be the acceptance of hospitality within the Sardinian territories. The Holy Father then did not conceal that the frequent changes of Ministries upon slight cause were of themselves a ground of uncertainty: that the remembrance of the communications, which he had set on foot or sanctioned, for a federation of the Italian States, afterwards broken off and abandoned through the fault of others, still rankled in his mind; that he regretted to find it reported in the newspapers that the Government of Piedmont had sent envoys to Florence and to Rome, to negotiate arrangements for the Italian Constituent; and hence he had a misgiving lest the Sardinian Government should be disposed to cooperate with the men who in Rome were usurping the rights of the Pontiff and of the Church: finally, he was of opinion that nothing but force would serve to restore effectually his authority, spurned as it had been by a most audacious faction; while he feared that the good intentions of the Piedmontese Government might not be coupled with an equal power to

fulfil them. As the Pontiff grew warm in his discourse, and opened his mind with his secret misgivings and ideas, the difficulty became more evident of inclining him to the requests of King Charles Albert. In vain did the envoys point out, that he might live in secure reliance on the honour of the Sardinian Government, that both the presence of the Minister Pareto at Gaeta, and their mission, attested it; that the envoys sent to Florence and Rome were commissioned to ascertain the public feeling, and by no means to give into those schemes for an Italian Constituent of the sort propounded by the Tuscan Government, which ran counter both to the rights of the Princes and to the weal of their subjects; that Gioberti, the newly-appointed Minister of Sardinia, had the honour of having long before dispatched Rosmini to Rome to foster the Italian Federation, whence it might be taken for certain that the same idea would now be pushed with steady dispatch. In vain did the Envoys disclose their doubts whether foreign forces could re-establish the temporal authority of the Popedom, on the basis of love, harmony, and trust; nor did they keep back their fears lest the complaints of ancient times, imputing it to Rome that she it was who entailed upon Italy the curse of foreign armies, should be revived and aggravated. It was to no purpose: Pius IX. dismissed the envoys of Charles Albert, without affording a hope that he would accept their offers, or follow their advice. Nor did his tone vary, when they, a second time, discoursed on the same points. He lamented that Roman affairs should

have reached such a point as to make any restoration without the use of force questionable: he regretted the mischiefs Italy must undergo, should it be needful to appeal to the mercy and the power of foreigners; but, he added, it was little less than unpossible to dispense with it, especially because the only Italian Governments possessing powerful armies, Naples and Piedmont, were on bad terms with one another. To this the envoys replied, that the prudence, with which the Sardinian Government had carried itself in the Sicilian question, furnished proof of its anxiety to maintain or restore that harmony among Italian Sovereigns, which alone could give stability to the several States, or independence to the Nation: and that although there might seem to be no friendship between Naples and Sardinia, yet neither was there any open enmity, or any actual proceeding that could stand in the way of arrangements for the benefit of the Pontiff and of Italy. They intreated His Holiness thoroughly to consider those unhappy consequences from foreign intervention, of which he had avowed his fear; unhappy, possibly, not in the temporal sphere alone, but also in the spiritual. Still the Pope was not moved by these fresh instances, and did not accept their renewed proffers at this second interview, nor, subsequently, at the third and last. Cardinal Antonelli, too, held such language, that the Sardinian envoys could not but conclude the Roman Court was fixed in the resolution to fall back upon arrangements with the foreign Powers.

The circumstances above related show what were

the spirit and the views of King Charles Albert and of Gioberti in regard to the Head of Catholicism and Sovereign of Rome, and to Italy; and how void of truth and justice are the accusations on this point, brought by writers who make their own splenetic suspicions, with party resentments and common gossip, the groundwork both of their charges and of history itself. The Government of Sardinia was not seeking, and never sought, to become master of Italy; nor did it ever occur to Charles Albert or to Gioberti to attack the temporal Sovereignty of the Popedom, or to favour the Roman rebellion: rather, they studied every means of bringing back the States of the Church to tranquillity and to the constitutional system, so as to procure a good understanding with the Italian Sovereigns, and thereby prevent foreign invasions, while giving security to the thrones of Central Italy, and concluding the Federation. Of this I will supply a weighty proof, by printing the secret instructions to Count Martini, appointed Minister at the Court of His Holiness in lieu of the Marquis Pareto. Here they are.

"The Minister will be in relations of business with the *de-facto* Government now existing in Rome; but in relations of office with the Holy Father only, to whom he is accredited.

"The immediate objects of his mission are two: the one a reconciliation between the Holy Father and the Roman people; the other, the speediest possible conclusion of the Italian Federation.

"With a view to the first, the Minister will point out to the *de-facto* Government in Rome the necessity of the most

prompt reconciliation with the Holy Father, through the offer to him of conditions adapted to satisfy the delicacy of his conscience as Pontiff, and his essential rights as a Sovereign.

"Should the schism between the Holy Father and the people of Rome be prolonged, the States of the Church and the whole of Italy will incur the most serious hazard: for Foreign Powers will intervene in our affairs, to the grave detriment of our dignity and of our independence.

"If the Government in Rome wish for a mediator between themselves and the Holy Father, the Minister will tender the sincere and cordial aid of the Piedmontese Government.

"As respects the Roman Constituent, proclaimed by the Club of the People at Rome (differing totally from the Federative Constituent, proclaimed by Mamiani, and approved by this Government), the Minister will act according to circumstances. If not now too late to avert it by argument, he will use his best efforts to effect that purpose. He will point out to those in power at Rome, that, as the very designation of such an assembly throws a doubt on the sovereignty of the Pontiff, it may be construed by him as a manifest wrong and treason; and, besides other evils, it will offer an impediment to the Federation, which is of moment to all Italy.

"Again, should a tendency to extremes prevail in this Constituent, and the temporal authority of the Pope thus be curtailed, all must see that it would bring the stranger into our home, and, without gaining its own end, would put in peril all we have up to this time realised.

"If, however, the convocation of this Constituent should be a measure accomplished and beyond recall, the Minister will employ all his efforts to mitigate and limit the results. He will labour to give it a favourable turn, by bringing it to aim at a discriminating separation between the temporal and spiritual administration, while it shall bear intact the supreme authority of the Pontiff as a constitutional Prince. With this view, he will point out to the Romans, that, in a con-

trary course, Rome could not have the support of Piedmont, while she would have against her, along with the residue of Italy, a moiety of Europe.

"Such will be the preliminary mission which, as matter of business, the Minister is to discharge in Rome. Having executed these instructions, he will repair to the Holy Father, will produce his credentials from hence, and will state to him that this Government earnestly desires the acceptance of its mediation by the Holy Father. If he shall have found a conciliatory disposition on the part of those in power at Rome, he will make it understood before the Pontifical throne, and will leave no means untried of bringing about the desired harmony.

"It may be well to apprise the Minister in this place, that His Majesty's Government, a few days back, dispatched to the Holy Father an embassy extraordinary, to invite him to sojourn in the Sardinian territory. The Minister will renew the invitation and the offer, and will point out to the Holy Father that a residence in Piedmont would conduce more than any other to his dignity and safety, supposing that he does not at present intend to re-enter his own dominions.

"Above all, the Minister is to dwell on the reasons that should lead the Pontiff to try every mode of conciliation. Religion asks it, suffering as she does from the present estrangement, because her enemies take occasion from it to depict the Pope as an enemy to the freedom or the nationality of Italy. The weal of Italy asks it, because the prolonged absence of the Pontiff from Rome may impede the Italian Federation, and invite the stranger into our country. Moreover, this absence gives strength and hope to the extravagant sects, which aim at overturning the political institutions of the Peninsula, but which will lose their energy, so soon as the Supreme Father shall return among his children. On this account it may be said, that on the early return of Pius IX. depends in great part the destiny of all Italy, nay, I dare to add, of all Europe, considering its close relations with the Metropolis, and with the Head of the Catholic world.

"Should the Pope still be at Gaeta, and the Minister have occasion to repair thither to pay his respects, he may take the opportunity to let drop some expressions of amity and affection likewise before the King of Naples; may prove to him, that the stability of his throne and the safety of his person depend on the Italian Federation, which alone can restore to him the attachment of his subjects, and the moral influence that does not depend upon the material power of an army.

"To sum up in few words what has been said, the efforts of the Minister should be wholly conciliatory, and they are to aim chiefly at bringing the Italian Federation into existence, by detaching from the plan of it whatever can render it hateful or formidable to the Sovereigns and their Governments.

"Gioberti.

"Turin, December 30. 1848."

Inasmuch, however, as allusion has been made to other envoys and functionaries of the Sardinian Government at Florence and Rome, about whom the Holy Father complained in his conversations with the Marquis Montezemolo and Monsignor Riccardi, it is fit to extend my account of the proceedings of that Government. In its anxiety at once to provide for the security of the States of Central Italy, which Austria might attack, and to gain influence over both the people and the rulers of Tuscany and of Romagna, as well as power to modify or control probable contingencies, it dispatched the Deputy Pasquale Berghini to request leave of the Florentine Government to send ten or twelve thousand Piedmontese troops into Tuscany, which might either remain quartered there, or pass into Romagna, as might

please and suit that Government, or as might be serviceable for the common defence. Guerrazzi received Berghini with courtesy, but said the question was very grave, and took time to reply. Montanelli abruptly refused leave to the Piedmontese force to quarter in Tuscany, unless the King's Government should first give satisfaction in respect of certain occurrences at Parana, which, as he thought, infringed the authority and dignity of Tuscany; and unless the negotiations for a Constituent should first be brought to a completion. Leave to pass, he said, might be given; but he must first ask the Sovereign, and the Ministers his colleagues. Shortly afterwards he denied even passage, alleging that he had not ventured to mention it to the Grand Duke, because he was too much incensed with the Sardinian Government. Two days later, however, Berghini managed by fresh applications to obtain permission for passage into Romagna; and so he told Gioberti, announcing to him, that he was but ill able to place reliance on the Tuscan Government, "the mere puppet" (such is his expression) "of the Mazzinians, and the foe to the establishment of the Kingdom of Upper Italy: that they never would forego the idea of a Constituent with unlimited powers, because by its means they hoped to make a puppet of Piedmont too; and because, as it was the toy with which they had risen to power, they feared they might tumble down again if they flung it away; that, lastly, however gross the affectation and the pretensions of these Tuscan Ministers, they had

not a stiver, nor a man, to contribute to the War of Independence."

It was not then for the Italian Constituent that Berghini was concerned, but for the War of Independence, and for the means of introducing a Piedmontese force into the centre of Italy. After he had gone from Florence to Rome, he let it get abroad that he was commissioned to negotiate an agreement for the Constituent; but he actually addressed himself to obtaining leave for the Piedmontese force to take up its quarters in Romagna. This raised great difficulties at Rome: nor could Berghini effect more than the conclusion of an agreement, under which the Piedmontese corps might set foot on Roman ground, so soon as war with Austria should be proclaimed anew. The Agreement was couched in the following terms:—

"Dated the 18th of January, in the year 1849, at Rome.

"Agreement concluded between the Provisional Committee of Government for the Roman States and the Advocate Pasquale Berghini, Commissioner Extraordinary of H. M. Charles Albert, King of Upper Italy, for the entry and continuance of a corps of Sardinian troops within the frontier provinces of the Roman State.

"Art. 1. The Government of His said Majesty, so soon as he shall have proclaimed anew the war against Austria, may order the Royal forces to enter, and temporarily to quarter for strategical operations in, the frontier provinces of the Roman State; with the double purpose of securing it against foreign invasion, and of being enabled freely to attack the common enemy upon any spot of Italian ground, and expel him from it.

"Art. 2. So long as the Royal forces shall have occasion

to quarter in the Roman territories, the Government thereof engages to provide them with convenient barrack-room and lodgment at its own care and charge, and, moreover, to supply them with the requisite provisions and provender, the cost whereof shall, however, as well as the entire pay of the said troops, be for account of the Government of His Majesty.

"With this view the Roman Government, on due notice from that of His Majesty, will expedite the establishment, in the city of Bologna, or in some other convenient locality, of a commissariat, so that the requisite arrangements and supplies may be provided with suitable promptitude and regularity.

"Art. 3. The Roman Government engages to co-operate in this Holy War with the entire force of the State, and upon notice, to place forthwith at the disposal of His Majesty an army of not less than 15,000 men, which shall absolutely obey the orders of such General as His said Majesty shall please to entrust with the command-in-chief for that war. The whole contingent of the Roman Government shall be armed, provisioned, and supplied with all necessaries, by it exclusively.

"Art. 4. The commandants of the Royal forces shall not be authorised in any manner to mix in the domestic questions of the Roman State: since they are to consider their temporary presence as having reference solely to a favourable issue for the war.

"Art. 5. The present Convention shall on both sides be kept most scrupulously secret: and in no case shall its publication be allowed but with the knowledge and consent of the two parties.

"Art. 6. The above-named Commissioner, the Advocate Berghini, undertakes to obtain for it the ratification of his Government.

"All this was drawn out in duplicate parts by the Advocate Francesco Borgatti, Deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and acting Secretary, on the day and year above mentioned, at the Palace of the Quirinal: and after perusal

and subscription by the parties one part was retained by each.

" P. Berghini.

" Armellini. Sterbini.
Mariani. Galletti.
Muzzarelli. Campello."

The Agreement was kept secret, as was indispensable, to enable Piedmont to prosecute its designs to completion, and the Government of Rome to shield themselves against the imputations of the Mazzinians, who held the Government of Piedmont in hatred and suspicion. The rulers at Rome had neither plan of their own nor any constancy of purpose; and they allowed themselves to bend sometimes towards the Mazzinians at the pleasure of Accursi, sometimes this way or that, under the hand of Sterbini, himself a perfect weathercock, swayed by popular whim, vulgar rumour, and his own restless mind. And because they possessed neither strength of will, sagacity, nor any certain policy, they never were sincere: they paid off every body in fair words: underhand they courted Piedmont, then said, or let others say for them, that no reliance could be placed on her. Often they declared their resolution to prosecute to its completion the demolition of the temporal power of the Popes, yet after having subscribed the Convention above given, Muzzarelli addressed the following letter to Berghini: —

" (Department of Foreign Affairs.)

" Sir,

" The Roman Government, happy to possess in you a trustworthy exponent of your principles and policy, cannot

but take in good part your offer to repair to Turin, and undertake the explanation there, as of our principles and policy, so of our intentions, and of the sentiments that cordially unite us with Piedmont.

"That the Roman Government has manifested its preference for conciliatory courses towards the Holy Father, is made clear both by facts and by the repeated instructions transmitted to our representatives at Turin, and made known to the Sardinian Cabinet. That this Government is steady in the desire to see constitutional liberty, together with the cause of Italian Nationality and Independence, guaranteed and secured, and to repel extravagant tendencies in whatever quarter, is a matter so certain, that you need not hesitate to assume it with a quiet conscience.

"The Italian Constituent, proclaimed from Rome by an instrument of the 16th current, has for its essential basis, as I have already had the honour to assure the Sardinian Government through our agents at Turin, the principle of a National Federation, intended to guard the freedom and independence of Italy. It does not trespass on the autonomy of the separate States, and accordingly does not in substance interfere with the negotiations pending between the two Governments of Rome and Turin.

"This being granted, you perceive, Sir, that the Sardinian Government may frankly and confidently close with our principles and policy. The two Governments will then cooperate for the triumph of one and the same cause of constitutional freedom and National Independence. Rome is very well aware that the power of Piedmont can preserve her from all foreign intervention, and from the ceaseless attacks of a reactionary party: but Piedmont has need, equally with the Roman Government, to explain herself clearly and frankly, in order that her alliance with Rome may be a pledge of safety to all, and may not through equivocal hesitation afford a pretext to any one for disseminating calumny or suspicion. Thus these same reactionary influences will prove null and ineffectual: thus will the Holy Father com-

prehend, that one course only, that of honourable and Christian concession, can insure to him the temporal sovereignty. We wish for the Pope; but wish for him such as the true spirit of Religion, and of freedom, the exigencies of the times and of civilisation, the moral and essential wants of the nation require him to be: and we desire the entire severance of the two powers, that the exercise of the one may not, as heretofore, offer hindrances to the exercise of the other.

"We wish for an unambiguous Constitutional Statute: lastly, in the Italian Constituent we seek for a true and practical Federation, such as may free our common country from the stranger.

"You have, then, Mr. Deputy, the programme of the Government of Rome. Please to make it the subject of particular and confidential inquiries from your Government, and promptly to communicate the result.

"Apprising you of the full concurrence of all my colleagues in this exposition, I have now only to convey to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

"MUZZARELLI.

"Rome, January 30. 1849."

Gioberti was so ill pleased with the turn that the affairs of Rome and of Tuscany had taken, that upon receiving news of the slender results achieved by Berghini in Rome, he wrote thus to him:—

"I thank you for the great pains you have bestowed upon our affairs. But in that quarter all is moonshine and flash in the pan. Keep the matter most close, there and elsewhere. Not a syllable of it to the Tuscan Ministers, who are come to be decoy-ducks for the *Giovine Italia*, and from whom nothing can be hoped. Leave Rome quickly, and make for Gaeta. If your relations with those in power at Rome be known there, say at once they were purely matter of business, and what business it was. If you see the Holy Father

and his Government, certify them that the Government of Piedmont is steadily resolved to uphold and defend, with all its might, the cause of order and of constitutional monarchy: that all which has been alleged against us is sheer calumny, as results will prove: that the Pope and his legitimate constitutional rights can have no champion more firm, more earnest, more seemly, than that Government. Any foreign intervention whatever would mar the fair fame of the Holy See and of religion, and might entail the greatest evils upon Italy. The intervention of Piedmont, on the contrary, would bring none of these inconveniences and dangers. Tender, then, to the Holy Father her entire resources; and say, that if at the outset neither our King nor his Government made this offer, it was because while Mamiani continued in power we deemed an amicable arrangement practicable, and armed collision needless."

Let this suffice for the present in regard to the purposes and efforts of the Piedmontese Government, touching the Pontiff and the events of Rome. Hereafter I shall resume the subject, and give the narrative of the mission of Count Martini, and of every other proceeding worthy of special record. It will now be fitting to place in juxtaposition with the steps of the Ministry of Piedmont, those taken by that of Tuscany; and to advert to the exertions of the Envoys of Venice and of Sicily.

CHAP. VIII.

LA CECILIA AT LEGHORN. — APPOINTED CONSUL AT CIVITA VECCHIA, WITH A SECRET MISSION FOR ROME. — TEXT OF A DISPATCH FROM MONTANELLI TO BARGAGLI. — AND OF A SECOND. — TESTIMONY OF MONSIGNOR BONINSEGNI TO THE VIEWS OF LA CECILIA. — TEXT OF A REPORT FROM LA CECILIA TO MONTANELLI ON THE AFFAIRS OF ROME. — CASTELLANI, THE VENETIAN ENVOY. — HIS LANGUAGE AND PROCEEDINGS. — HIS CONVERSATION WITH BORGATTI. — HIS LETTER TO THE VENETIAN GOVERNMENT. — HIS REPRESENTATIONS TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT ROME. — HIS OPINION OF ROSSI. — MAMIANI'S PROMISE OF AID TO VENICE NOT FULFILLED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. — CASTELLANI'S LANGUAGE ON THIS SUBJECT. — MUZZARELLI'S REPLY. — VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION FOR VENICE. — PADRE VENTURA, HIS DEMEANOUR AND PROCEEDINGS. — OBSERVATIONS: CORRUPT COWARDICE OF SOME. — CONSTITUTIONALISTS MISTRUSTED AND BLAMED. — OBSERVATION HEREON. — EFFECT OF THE PAPAL MONITORY. — THE MUNICIPAL MAGISTRATES RESIGN. — GENERAL ZAMBONI ARRESTED: DISORDER. — ZUCCHI AND THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS AT BOLOGNA. — PROPOSAL OF COUNT RANUZZI. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOLOGNESE. — SPADA, PRESIDENT OF BOLOGNA. — BERTI PICHAT, HIS SUCCESSOR. — FRESH SOURCE OF CALAMITY THERE: SENTENCES OF THE CONVICTS ON THE PUBLIC WORKS CURTAILED. — ORDERS SENT FROM GAETA TO THE SWISS. — GENERAL LATOUR RESOLVES TO OBEY MONSIGNOR BEDINI. — EXCITEMENT IN BOLOGNA, AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE PRESIDENT. — IMPEDIMENTS TO THE EXECUTION OF THE ORDERS. — ISSUE OF THE AFFAIR.

Among those whom Leghorn in her madness had suffered her populace to deify, was a Neapolitan exile, named La Cecilia, who had passed many years in Corsica, and got a bad name there. Crafty, aspiring, and rapacious, he had, from of old, experience of the

sects, with a versatile disposition, fluent elocution, and enough of talent and culture to enable him to cut a figure amidst an insurrectionary multitude, from whom he hoped for the means of satiating his appetites. The Tuscan Ministry, which, by reason of its origin, and of the ends it was pursuing, was obliged to keep terms with the rioters of Leghorn, yet could not stomach La Cecilia, such were the evil rumours in circulation about him. It has been stated in writing that Montanelli replied to Pigli, who was recommending him, that public rank and office could not be conferred on him, until he had cleared himself of the charge of having forged a letter: adding, that after the events at Rome he had thought of using influence there, but could not employ La Cecilia, on account of that ugly imputation. Yet not long after, he made the man Consul at Civita Vecchia, entrusting him with a secret mission to Rome, to further the project of the Italian Constituent. About this he wrote, on the 25th of November, to the Minister Bargagli, recommending La Cecilia as a man of talent, and devoted to the Italian cause, who had much following in Rome, especially among the democratic party. Again on the 28th of that month, he wrote in these terms concerning him: —

"My dear Minister,

"The bearer of this letter is Colonel La Cecilia, a person full of energy, and qualified to give you every assistance. This new turn in Roman politics may be our salvation, unless there be a miscarriage at the outset. We must have Rome for the centre of the national movement, and the operations

she may take in hand must not be confined to the Papal States. La Cecilia will impart to you our ideas. Should Rome at once convoke the Constituent, and give the Presidency to Leopold, a double object will be attained; first, the fusion of the two States of Central Italy; and, secondly, a central point for the country, to which Piedmont, and assuredly Naples too, will have to resort. As to the Pope, you should speak him fair. Tell him he has acted well, and is a real restorer of an Evangelical Papacy: and that the removal from Rome for the period of the political reconstruction was a most prudent step, to preclude its being said, that the Head of the Church was under coercion. Give him to understand, it is thought incredible that a Pius IX. should bring himself to have recourse to foreign arms. He has said his will is to reign by affection, not by force. Do not grudge expresses to keep us thoroughly informed; and believe me,

"Your attached friend,

"Montanelli."

As soon as Montanelli heard of the Pope's departure, and the confirmation, by Parliamentary Vote, of the Ministry of the 16th of November, he wrote thus to Bargagli:—

"My dear Minister,

"I am deeply grieved by the letters of this morning. The confirmation of the Roman Ministry is a deadly blow. I suspect Mamiani has an idea in reserve,—to proclaim Charles Albert King of Rome. He will not have the courage: but that is his line. Beware of him; and draw towards Galletti in preference. Unless the movement in Italy very soon put on an Italian aspect, our perils must be grave. Our Provinces will act for themselves; the party of reaction will have time to rally; the diplomatists, not finding any consummated results in their way, will uphold, and perhaps impose by the bayonet, the Pope's temporal power. All would be cured by the Constituent: we should then

have a national act done, and that without promulgating any abstract principle that might entangle us. The decadence of the Pope from his prerogatives would not be proclaimed until the Constituent should do it at the proper time, as the actual separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical government would suffice. The Republicans would try no *coup-de-main*. The Albertists would be controlled in their dynastic aspirations. The whole of Central Italy would meantime find itself combined in a single idea: and although no Piedmontese or Neapolitan Deputies should attend, yet a Congress of Deputies from Central Italy, joined by those of Venice and Sicily, would be an immense result. Talk it over with Galletti. By this time you will have seen La Cecilia. To organise demonstrations in this sense, he is the very man."

Nor was it La Cecilia only that the Tuscan Minister for Foreign Affairs charged to foster his ideas in Rome, for he likewise, by a letter of the 30th of November, recommended to Bargagli two Lombard exiles, Cernuschi and Maestri, as being, he said, men "who might prove most useful in giving an impetus to opinion at Rome, in the sense of the Tuscan Government." Again, on the 5th of December, he recommended a certain Cironi, an agent of Mazzini, "who formed part of a deputation that was repairing to Rome, to lay before the political Club there certain objects desired by that of Florence." Monsignor Giulio Boninsegni, who had been in Rome for some time as Envoy from the Grand Duke, to negotiate arrangements on matters of Church discipline, bears this testimony to the views of La Cecilia: —

"The Minister Bargagli, on seeing La Cecilia and the letter that introduced him, inquired what was the special

mission wherewith the new Envoy was charged. La Cecilia made no mystery of it: but declared, without circumlocution, that he was sent to Rome to start a new revolution, having for its object to strip the Pope of his temporal power, now become incompatible with the fortunes of Italy. This new movement, he added, was likewise to have its effects on the Kingdom of Naples. Bargagli, having heard all, protested that he could not lend himself in any manner to such proceedings; and it was then that he called me likewise in, to acquaint me with the letter of Montanelli, and the oral communications of La Cecilia. The disclaimer of Bargagli put him into no sort of embarrassment. The very same day he called on all the Ministers appointed since Rossi's death; he held, too, various interviews with Saliceti, and with the other leading emigrants from Naples. After these introductory steps, he returned to the Palazzo di Firenze shortly before the courier left, and requested a place to write, that he might dispatch his first report to Montanelli. I was at the Legation, and Bargagli was out on business. La Cecilia wrote his report in haste, and then would by all means have me read it. In it he stated, that he had conversed first of all with the Minister Mamiani; that he had found in him a thoroughly aristocratic diplomatist, from whom no good could be expected; that the other Ministers were ciphers, on whom he could not build at all, except the Advocate Giuseppe Galletti, who alone among them took a right view of affairs, and that from him he should get every kind of co-operation. That Saliceti, the leading man of the Neapolitan exiles, despaired of the issue of this attempt; that he, however, was a mere philosopher, who was all abroad in the world of abstractions: that all the rest, both Neapolitans and Lombards, were ready for any thing, and consequently nothing remained but to jog the apathy of the Roman people, which he himself would readily undertake, only he must be supplied with cash."

These and other notions of La Cecilia are set forth

likewise in the following dispatch, addressed by him to Montanelli on the 30th of November: —

"The Roman movement is incomplete, through the default of the existing Ministry, which has not set itself to securing the conquests of the people by enlarging and guiding its first motions. The reason of this inertness of the Government is to be found in the actual characters of its members, and in the supineness of the Chamber of Deputies. Mamiani is a man meaning well, but in action timid; in short, too speculative, and likewise given to trying conciliation upon erroneous *data:* the best and fittest of Ministers for quiet times, but for rough ones as bad as possible. Sterbini is a man of vagaries, now in the skies and now in the dumps, but fanatical, nay, crack-brained, about the Federation, after the fashion of the Turin Congress, of which he was a member: so rigid in his notions and views that, to bring him to any sort of reason, I was obliged to expend a whole hour. However, he most readily agreed that the Constituent should be summoned to Rome, and under the Presidency of Leopold II. Galletti has virtue and patriotism, but is not good at catching the time as it flies, or even at perceiving his own position as a Minister. He takes his stand upon legality: and dreams that he himself was freely preferred by the Pontiff; nay, he goes the incomprehensible length of holding the present Ministry to be a legal one. He does not recollect the fire of musketry, which extracted the names of the new Ministers from the mouth of the Pope, never from his heart.

"The persons here, who perceive the true bearings of the present juncture, will labour to organise or augment their party among the Deputies of the Chambers, which as yet is undoubtedly slender. Buonaparte, that political morris-dancer, bothers legality right well: and even meant to move in the Chambers for the appointment of a Regency. But, at my intreaty, he will content himself with a protest instead, in which he will declare null and incompetent all proceedings of the Pontiff, as being under coercion and in the hands of enemies

The Club of the People supports the Ministry, but is alive to the precarious position of affairs, should they stop where they now are. All are agreed that a movement should be effected in the kingdom of Naples, and that the first trial should be in the Abruzzi, as being both near and unsettled. Padre Gavazzi, De-Boni, and Buonaparte, will probably repair thither. Mazzini will come himself to Rome. Garibaldi, with his legion, cannot be long away; and then truly legality will be in a pretty pickle."

These and other like proceedings of the Tuscan Government were known to Castellani, the Venetian Envoy, who, on the 13th of December, wrote to his Government, that he had before him a letter of Montanelli, with these words: "We must drive the Parliament to declare the deposition of Pius IX. from the temporal sovereignty." Castellani never busied himself in any matter that was not worthy of his wisdom and honour; and he formed a sound judgment of events and of men. When acquainting his Government with the qualities and the credit of the Ministers, he wrote that "the honourable men of all parties were against Sterbini:" and in conveying the news of the dissolution of the Legislative Councils, and of the convocation of the Constituent, he launched into these exclamations: — "But, where are the arms, the men, the money? where is the popular enthusiasm? where the hatred of the Pope? where the confidence in the future, and the common object of interest?" The Venetian Government recommended him to keep neutral among conflicting parties, and to employ the utmost prudence and circumspection, directing his counsels and exertions to the paramount object of na-

tional independence. At the time when the Piedmontese Government was standing forward to advise conciliation and concord, and asking leave to introduce troops into the northern Roman provinces, Castellani bestirred himself effectively to render its wishes and requests palatable to the rulers of Rome, and drew over to his own opinions Borgatti, the Deputy to the Foreign Minister, addressing him in these words: —

"After the Pope was gone, you had but two courses open to you: the one revolution, the other accommodation. The first you have not adopted, and you have boggled at the last. Now, again, you have before you those two courses only. Time flies, and you should make your choice: either revolution, with its forced loans, taxes on absentees, military conscriptions, exceptional laws, and all the violences that violence begets; or an accommodation, that is to say, the Pope. The Pope you will have, either with your consent, under the requisite guarantees, if you accept Piedmontese intervention, and so prevent intervention from abroad; or against it, when you will become responsible either for a civil war, or for a foreign invasion, giving over the country to the tender mercies of a victor. But where are your forces for all this? You have not a brigade to rely on. Where is the enthusiasm of the masses? Not a shout is to be heard. Where are your arms? You have ordered the purchase of 10,000 muskets; and it will be two months before they get to Rome. Where is your money? Your coffers are already empty. Again, either you choose the aid of Piedmont, and obtain it; or you do not, and still, if it please, it will interfere, and that against you. Nay, if it should not, so much the worse for all parties, and for Italy, because do not flatter yourselves but that Austria will; and so, with her, will all the armed force of Europe. If now, as is your duty, you think more of Italy than of yourselves, remember for what cause Italy took arms; and if you really have her

independence at heart, tell me in good faith, what part are you now acting in Italy and for Italy? I, who say it, am one you cannot suspect: here I have nothing to hope for myself, nothing to fear: I simply beseech you to reflect and feel that we are not Romans and Venetians, but Italians; and then to determine, whether you find in yourselves weight, force, and genius, sufficient for your own salvation, and for the deliverance of Italy, by means of revolution: but if you do not, then compound, so as to unite us all in a common purpose."

Affected and convinced, Borgatti declared he would exert himself to obtain the acceptance of the proposals of Piedmont; and then, in concluding what he had to say, Castellani used these words: "That will not suffice; you must get some strength for your Government. How will you manage this Constituent? Be on your guard, for the men of extremes are flocking in hither from all quarters, and are winning over your Deputies."

Concerning the Italian Constituent, of which it was said Rome should be the nucleus or fountain-head, Castellani, on the 29th of January, addressed the following dispatch to his Government: —

"Before Venice sends here Deputies of her own, we must watch the turn of affairs. For should it be to mischief, as is likely, we might, without any present advantage, incur serious ulterior evil. Venice is simply struggling for independence, that is to say, in a cause respectable even to her enemy: whence it is probable her heroic defence may end in her freedom. But the Constituent, which they are about gathering here under the name of Italian, will be composed of representatives from countries that are internally in revolution against monarchy: hence, though it may profess to

meet in the same cause as Venice is now fighting, yet, on account of the unlimited powers it is sought to confer on the members, it cannot but assume a different aspect in the public opinion. Should, then, Venice give in her adhesion, and should the Tuscan movement, and that of Romagna, be put down by force, and the assembly, in consequence, dispersed, Venice would stand compromised for a cause which, considered strictly, is not identical with hers: and thus, in any future settlement of Italian affairs, the sympathy with her defence might fail her. I conceive, then, that we should at all events take time."

Thus did the Venetian Envoy conduct himself, according to the laws of honour and with a wise discernment, in the affairs of Rome; while he did not overlook the regards due to the Head of Catholicism, to whom, at the close of the year, he addressed his prayers and aspirations, on behalf of Venice and of Italy. His first care was to benefit his native city, plunged as it had been into peril and affliction, and to press the Provisional Government for pecuniary aid, in liquidation of the debt, which Rome had contracted for the pay and advances disbursed by Venice when the Pontifical army was serving beyond the Po. As early as August, Castellani had applied for it; and Cardinal Soglia, whom he had asked for 160,000 crowns, had replied that the Government apprehended a new Austrian invasion, if Rome should give open aid to Venice, and accordingly thought the better plan would be to pay over, secretly, a sum of money to the Commission of Aids. Of Rossi, to whom he commended the care of Venice, Castellani had formed

a sound judgment, when, on the 23rd of September, he wrote in these words: —

"I had this day an interview of an hour with the minister Rossi, and have to congratulate myself much on my reception. I found him a man of resolution. He avowed his interest in our cause; all the more, because a son of his is in our ranks. He admitted that he himself, though now old, and persuaded that the regeneration of Italy was to be gradually brought about, — yet upon witnessing the enthusiasm of her communities, had come to think it would be achieved almost at a stroke. He lamented the unfortunate issue; and ascribed it to the utter want of some one great captain and statesman, and to the general lack of energy and good sense. When I observed that it was probably in his option to become the arbiter of Italian politics, he rejoined that he was a sincere well-wisher to Italy, and he did not dissemble his decided views. Then, speaking of our affairs, he remarked that the resort of such troops of volunteers to that quarter might seriously embarrass our finances, without in the least aiding the defence. As to assistance, he said they would do something."

From Mamiani, during the few days for which he continued in the Ministry of the 16th of November, Castellani had more considerable hopes, and was encouraged to believe positively that, at the very least, an arrangement would be made for taking the paper of the Venetian Exchequer as cash, in payment of taxes to the Papal treasury. But subsequently, when Mamiani fell sick, and the Ministry was changed before effect had been given to this determination, the new Ministers utterly declined to put it into execution. Of this Castellani complained, in a note addressed to Muzzarelli on the 2nd of January, in

which, after establishing the claim of Venice, relating the anterior circumstances, and making various fair proposals, he used these words: — "I choose rather to believe, and, having regard to the political creed of the Ministers, I must believe, that the question has not been presented to them in its true light. Otherwise it would not seem possible that the Ministry could have rejected the propositions I put forward, so as to shut the door to all negotiation . . . . I conclude, however, that for the present, what has been said will suffice. The large additions I might make, I leave to your Excellency to apprehend. In the name of the Government and the country I represent, I repeat my request, that one or other of the plans referred to be adopted." But these representations were without effect, and Muzzarelli answered, "that the Government was compelled by an overpowering force of circumstances to postpone to a more favourable period the fulfilment of this its most sacred obligation." It was then that Castellani set on foot throughout the Roman States, a voluntary subscription of two pauls monthly, to which many agreed; but it yielded little, because the frauds were numerous and unavoidable.

Padre Ventura, the Sicilian Envoy, had, at the very commencement of the Pontificate of Pius IX., embraced the popular cause, as being that which, in his opinion, would most conduce to those triumphs of the Catholic Religion, that he earnestly desired. He was a lover of Italy and of freedom, but above all, of his own Sicily: and he abhorred the domination of the

Bourbons. Warmed with these feelings, the more he saw the dangers of the island multiply, the more fervid he grew in the cause of the people, believing that they would be able and willing to rectify an inveterate injustice. When Messina was given up to flame and plunder by the Bourbonists, he was profoundly afflicted, and he spared no pains to maintain his country's cause by speech, writing, and diplomatic offices. It was grievous to him, that the Pope should accept shelter from the foe of Sicily; he kept on friendly terms with those who ruled Rome, but he never meddled in practices unbecoming a priest; and when the Constituent had been denounced by the Pope, he steadily refused to accept the proffered trust of a representative of the people.

To one who considers the state of the times, the feeble or senseless characters of the men in power, and the numerous causes of excitement to the tempers of men and of exaggeration in their ideas, it will be plain that neither the endeavours of the Piedmontese Government, nor the prudence of the Venetian Envoy, could prevent things from coming to the point to which the clubs, the sects, and the agents of the Tuscan Government sought to push them. In every city and town, at Rome most of all, those were in the ascendant, who in their insolent ways vented noisy professions of defending liberty, and who tried their wits to the uttermost to bring every sober-minded citizen into suspicion with their criminal and disorderly gangs. Some there were, who feared falling into their bad graces, and who had ground for the fear,

because they had either been favourites of Cardinals and Papal functionaries, or had busied themselves in former political inquisitions, or had been promoted in rank or supplied with fortune by Pope Gregory, or had applauded Pius IX. with peculiar enthusiasm. There were, I say, men of this kind in every city, and especially in Rome, who at this time were led either by fear, or by cupidity, or by a lax and depraved conscience, to give every indication that could make them appear devotees of democratic Government, and inclinable to every desire of the licentious populace. There may also have been men of honour, who did not forget the benefits and distinctions they had received from the exiled Pontiff, and were alive to the evils into which the State and Italy were about to be with such blindness and recklessness precipitated. But if they took any means to moderate passion and restore the tone of the public mind, some plausible accusation or gross calumny was circulated in the streets and clubs, to hunt them down with suspicion and infamy. The Constitutionalists could not be pardoned for their fidelity to the Statute and thereby to the Sovereign, or, as the English say, to the Crown, meaning to the royal prerogative; itself a right co-ordinate with those of the parliament and of the people at large, a right which is to be scrupulously guarded and upheld, together with every other foundation-stone of constitutional monarchy. Above all, they could not be pardoned for their prudence, their moderation, their systematic opposition to rebellion: they who, during the absolute sway of the clergy, had set an example and earned a name

as Liberals, either by conspiring, or by undergoing punishment for conspiracy, real or pretended: and these very men were now charged with apostacy, menaced with vengeance, vilified with every sort of abuse, by the promoters of confusion. As though by their detestation of misgovernment, or by having conspired for the freedom and independence of Italy, they had given a pledge to forego for ever their own free agency, and to scamper after every novelty and every experiment, or to share in every iniquity; as though they had sworn never to rest till they had created a Republic one and indivisible, and a pure democracy, as the fashion then ran; as though they had repudiated the fruits of reason realised by years and the experience of human vicissitudes; as though between the mad and miserable Gregorian Government and the present juncture there had not intervened Pius IX., with his amnesty, his reforms, and his Constitution, blessed, accepted, ratified, by the whole mass of the Liberals! In accusations, in pretences, like these, was too plainly visible the huge corruption that a materialising philosophy and a perverted education have engendered; for the minds of men give no heed to the stern voice of conscience, the religion of honour, the law of plighted faith; every political party looks to gratifying its passions, and to its own interest, as the end of all action, and justifies in itself the immorality it condemns in others, thus perpetuating the reign of injustice and of fraud, filling cities with feuds and suspicions, and leaving them, through these evils, more than ever distracted, and less than

ever fitted for the virtuous exertions by which nations are regenerated and liberty is secured.

The Monitory of the Pope against the Constituent had stimulated hatred, suspicion, and dissension. All the municipal magistracies of the State either quitted their offices, or declined to take any part in the execution of the Electoral Decree: and this manifestation of fidelity to the constitutional Throne, this adherence to duty, were decried as treachery. Thus it was that honourable actions were appreciated by those, who announced their intention to inaugurate the reign of absolute freedom and of unadulterated justice: at a later period, a similar value was set on them by the clergy restored to domination, and by strangers with their blundering nonsense: for not only have the one and the other held cheap those evidences of attachment to constitutional monarchy, but they have affected to ignore and to forget them; and they have said again and again, and still say, that a Constitutional party did not exist in the State, or that, if it did, it gave no sign of fidelity or of spirit.

Zamboni, the General in command of the military division of Rome, attempted to escape to Gaeta: but his intention was detected, and he was waylaid by Bezzi, a bull-dog of the police, at the frontier, taken up, and carried back in custody, together with two officers who were in his company. A few riflemen raised a tumult to liberate him, but the movement was at once repressed, and served no other purpose than to augment the misgivings of the agitators and the dangers of the inhabitants. From Gaeta, Zucchi

exhorted the Papal soldiery to cling to their allegiance; which gained for him the name of a traitor, but rank and honour for those who, by insulting and reviling him, fomented the passions, that were fed and exasperated by every symptom of opposition. In Bologna were the Swiss, good and steady soldiers; and that city valued them as a force able to keep in check the rabble of thieves and homicides, and to support the Constitutionalists, in case they should be directed, and should find an opportunity, to try their strength. For the Constitutionalists were stronger at Bologna than elsewhere, in numbers, talent, and influence; and, however deserted by the Court, they were looking for an opening to put a curb on the Roman revolution, or at any rate to detach themselves from it. This had been proposed in the Municipal Council by Count Annibale Ranuzzi, the moment they knew that the Pope had denounced the *Giunta* of State. Nor was that the wish in Bologna only, but also in Romagna, whither some distinguished Bolognese, second to none in the warmth of their liberal and national feelings, but convinced of the extreme danger of the Roman rebellion, had been dispatched. They were the above-named Annibale Ranuzzi, Giovan Battista Ercolani, and Luigi Tanari, men highly conspicuous for descent, acquirements, and virtue. They did not pursue their errand to the Marches, because in Ferrara an opposite opinion prevailed, and because the swift current of the times wrought such rapid changes, that it left no space for well-considered counsels. Since Spada had resigned

the office of President, in which he comported himself as honour and duty enjoined, his place had been filled by Carlo Berti Pichat, a man of mind, sound morals, and spirit; a republican, but deeply attached to social order, and a foe to any kind of folly or iniquity. He applied the greatest attention to securing the city against disorders, broils, and the attempts of the ruffians, on whom Biancoli, the Director of Police, waged most effectual war. So Bologna got on, if not gaily and happily, for the times did not admit of happiness or gaiety, yet less dismally than other cities, in which the rabble of the clubs bore sway, and the resentments of political factions spread panic and affliction. But at this juncture she was a prey to serious troubles. The first was this, that, at a time when the ordinary gangs of blackguards, whose daring was stimulated by the political commotions, could but just be kept in check, the rulers of Rome, by a decree of the 19th of January, struck two years off the sentences of the convicts condemned to hard labour, except the old offenders and those sentenced for murder, forgery, and felonious robbery: and they liberated all those whose sentences had not more than two years to run. The President of Bologna all but resigned his office on the instant, such was his pain at this imprudent decree, and such the addition to his difficulties in keeping the public peace; and though, from regard to his birth-place, he did not actually throw up the Government, he wrote to Rome, demanding to be relieved. Meantime fresh and greater cause of dismay and danger was impending.

The Swiss troops were commanded by General Latour, who had received orders from Zucchi to remain in readiness to execute whatever instructions might come from Gaeta. There were in the town 1300 Swiss foot, with 8 guns, and 180 artillerymen, brave and well disciplined troops; 1000 more infantry were scattered through Romagna. The Court of Gaeta determined to call off those forces, thinking to pick up others and make an effort against Rome. They did not appreciate the great impediments to such a scheme, the distance, the want of money, the condition of Bologna, menaced with being left at the mercy of the marauders: and they deputed Monsignor Bedini to get an order executed, which bore, that General Latour was to set out from Bologna with all his men, to march them in a body and with closed ranks across Romagna, to gather in the dispersed companies of the second regiment as he went along, and then to proceed in order of battle through the Marches and Umbria, towards the Neapolitan confines. Monsignor Bedini pressed on Latour an early decision, appealing to his oath, and to the terms on which the Pope had engaged the Swiss regiments; but brought him no aid in money or suggestions. The General, who had given his word of honour to the President of Bologna to acquaint him with any tidings that might affect the tranquillity of the city, accordingly made known these orders to him, and the obligation he felt to obey them, however desperate he might think the scheme. No intreaties, no representations would avail; for he persisted in answering, it was his duty to obey the

Pope's messenger, whatever it cost him to run the risk of having to act against men, by whose side he had so gladly combated for Italian independence: he was aware, that, probably, he might fail to get his men safely through; still, the sanction of his oath outweighed with him every other consideration, every sympathy, every peril; and he would keep it, by obeying Monsignor Bedini at all hazards. When this was known in the town, there was great excitement, and a resolute determination to oppose by force the execution of his design. The President bethought himself how to direct and organise this general spirit so intent upon resistance, and at the same time he applied to the citizens of most weight, to induce them to dissuade the Swiss General from his hopeless undertaking; he also wrote to the English and French Ministers at Florence, intreating them to interpose their good offices. During this interval, the preparations for resistance went on, both at Bologna and in Romagna, near at hand. General Latour asked Monsignor Bedini for cash to furnish the pay of his men; but the Prelate replied he had none, and would repair to Imola to obtain it from Cardinal Baluffi: to whom he carried with him, clandestinely, De Sere, a captain of artillery. But neither had the Cardinal the means of satisfying him. The juncture was now most serious; to carry troops without their pay through a march of at least fifteen days, and this amidst civil war; no chance of quitting Bologna but with a battle; with loss therefore, and bloodshed, without provisions, and liable to a new engagement at every step; perhaps to

have to attack friendly towns, with troops savage from hunger and from the heat of conflict; perhaps to carry havock into the houses, and defilement into the families, where they had enjoyed hospitality and all the comforts of social life. This was an irksome, a distracting prospect. Nor did Monsignor Bedini bring any order from Zucchi as Minister of War, to explain and follow up the former one, which had instructed the General to hold himself in readiness. Nor was there a single magistrate, a single citizen of Bologna, who did not exert himself to overcome the resolution of Latour. Nay, as is said, the Cardinal Archbishop Opizzoni himself advised him to take time. At last, with deep regret, and torn by conflicting emotions, he yielded to staying where he was. Such were the troubles of Bologna, when the time arrived for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

CHAP. IX.

GIUNTAS OF PUBLIC SAFETY. — PROCLAMATION OF ARMELLINI. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS FOILED BY THE POPE'S MONITORY. — REMARKS. — ACCOUNT OF THE DAYS PRECEDING THE ELECTIONS. — OCCURRENCE AT ORVIETO. — LAWS PROMULGATED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. — ON THE MILITARY CODE. — ON ENTAILS. — ON MORTGAGES. — ON THE EXCISE UPON GROUND-CORN. — ON MILITARY DISCHARGES AND PENSIONS. — ON REFORM OF CIVIL PROCESS. — APPOINTMENT OF A MILITARY COMMISSION. — LAW ON A MILITARY COMMISSION FOR OFFENCES AGAINST THE PUBLIC SAFETY. — ON THE PREROGATIVE OF MERCY. — ON NAVIGATION. — ON THE COLLECTION OF TAXES. — ON THE COASTING TRADE. — ON THE RETIREMENTS OF PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES. — ON PAPER MONEY. — ON CHANGES IN THE CIVIL CODE. — ON COMMUNES. — ACTS OF FAVOURITISM. — COMPLACENCY OF ARMELLINI TO APPLICANTS. — REMARK ON THE STATE OF EUROPE. — GIOBERTI'S DISPATCH OF JANUARY 28. TO MUZZARELLI. — GIOBERTI'S ANSWER TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT. — THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE AT ROME. — PREPARATORY ASSEMBLAGES. — VARIETY OF OPINIONS.

THE monitory of the Pope, the attempted flight of General Zamboni, the orders of Zucchi, the apprehension of a separation from Bologna and Romagna, and the misgivings that naturally depress the spirit of all Governments sprung from or supported by violence, led the Provisional Committee to decree, on the 13th of January, that any private person or public officer, who should directly or indirectly obstruct the meeting of the electoral colleges, should be proclaimed as a disturber of public order and an enemy to his country, and punished

with severity and promptitude. For this end, a tribunal of inquisition, under the name of the *Giunta* of Public Safety, was established in Rome and in each province; which, as the decree ran, was to put the laws into expeditious and strict execution. And these laws were the harsh and cruel ones, that Gregory XVI. had passed for treasonable offences! On the same day, Armellini addressed to the people a Proclamation, in which he lauded the omnipotence of universal suffrage, the sacred sanction, as he said, of all rights, and wound up with these idiotic words:—

"They who revolt against such a principle, they who by force or by concerted machination obstruct its application, are the creatures of faction; because they place themselves outside the public rights, and above the general will. But Society has her eye upon them. Public order and safety, independence and freedom, will find in the resistless energy of an united will among all faithful and devoted citizens, that seek to employ efficacious remedies apart from all shock of passion, strength enough to repress every effort, covert or avowed, at re-action or intestine discord. We know not what trials Providence has yet in store for that modern structure which is rising from the ruins of ancient society. Epochs of regeneration, like the law from Mount Sinai, proclaim themselves in thunder and in storm; but the Sun, clouded for an instant, re-appears all the brighter to irradiate the track of the footsteps freshly trodden by mankind on their career of progress."

In these terms did the veteran consistorial lawyer treat us to his Commissions of Inquisition. A soldier's adherence to his oath, the mutterings of some few Constitutionalists, the general phlegm, were one and all dubbed conspiracy. It was just the old tune of

suspicion, to which for thirty years others had trodden us down with their exceptional tribunals, and their tyrannising police. Base is the fear, and criminal the licence, that rend society, at one time in the Sovereign's name, at another in the people's. Would that at least they abstained from profaning, both alike, the name of God, source of the inviolable rights of freedom and of justice!

The Monitory of the Pope had deprived the Constitutionalists of any hope of success in maintaining the Throne, on the basis of popular suffrage, against the Republicans, and the free institutions against the cabals of ecclesiastics enamoured of their absolute dominion. They had used their best endeavours, especially in the middle and northern provinces, to recommend to the electors candidates who were desirous of an accommodation, and alike friends to liberty, and foes to hazardous experiments and democratic excesses; and they had hoped to succeed in their design by means of the rural population, who are naturally inclined to follow their landlords and the clergy. But when giving a vote in the elections for the Constituent had, by the declaration of the Pontiff, been placed in the category of treason against God and the Sovereign, and the threat of spiritual thunders was suspended over the heads of believers, all likelihood of success vanished away. Indeed, the result was, that the larger part of the Constitutionalists, those particularly who had been distinguished in office or in Parliament, at once abandoned all electioneering efforts, and determined to abstain

from voting. This caused a quarrel with some of a contrary opinion, and with numerous youths, who could not endure that the very men, who would be least nice in their choice, should have it all their own way. On this point, censure and justification, both then and later, were bandied among them. Nor can the historian, or any human authority, pass judgment on such actions, as come straight from the sense of religious duty; hence it is not well to censure those who scrupled to disobey the head of the Church. But, apart from this observation, I have to notice, that as the clergy had, by the Pontifical Brief, been brought to decry the elections as a work of sin, there could not be a doubt, that the Constitutionalists would fail to get the support of that very part of the population on which they built their reckonings. Add that, at the very time when Pius IX. was denouncing the Constituent and all things in order to it in his capacity of Pontiff, in his capacity of Prince he was also branding as a rebel every citizen that might take part in them; so that the party, had they disregarded the Pontifical Brief, would have shown themselves both ill-affected to the Church and rebels to the Sovereign of whose rights they professed themselves the champions. Hence it came, that in this juncture the Constitutionalists broke up as a political party, and acted individually according to their consciences; the majority, as I have said, becoming mere spectators. This result, if it brought upon them both taunts and perils, should at least have earned eulogy and respect from the Court and the clergy; for they afforded an

example, unique in modern history, of a political party which thus preferred the strict obedience of subjects to their own fame, ambition, and security. On the other hand, we must not make certain that, had the Papal Brief never issued, and had the Constitutionalists resolutely and successfully carried through their electioneering measures, the torrent of events would have been stayed. Rather indeed may this be doubted, when we remember how, at that time, the associations in the clubs domineered, and made it no secret that, in case the elections should not go according to their wish, they would look to its accomplishment by force; and how it was even said that, if the Assembly should not proclaim the Republic, this was to be done by acclamation in the streets, and justice to be executed on the lukewarm. It was the moment for every form of presumption, rapacity, and ambition to come uppermost; every hamlet sent forth its sage, who must needs try his hand; prudence and knowledge were execrated as savouring of proscribed aristocracy; ripeness of age was a ground for misgiving; "run" was the word, or, "the devil take the hindmost;" men of yesterday were in request, and were forthcoming. Meetings were held in clubs and theatres, where orators fresh enough spouted most stale discourses with an affectation of originality that gave proof of astounding ignorance. All classes were confounded together; the rich and noble, who through fear took their cue from the populace, with the artisan, whom political commotion had drawn off his work; some priest or friar, heretofore a hypocrite to

religion, and now to freedom, with other more scandalous desecrators of the Christian ministry; the inquisitive many, and the few apprised of the purpose of these gatherings, with the daring clique that managed them. In Rome they were sometimes held at the Tordinona theatre, where among others a priest named Arduini used to hold forth; after the meetings they poured through the streets of Rome, shouting for the Republic. At this even the men in power and some among the Republicans murmured, alleging that it was too bad to attempt usurping the authority of the Constituent, which alone was entitled to decide upon the destinies of the State. Meanwhile the clubs which, in all parts of the States, had picked out the men they could trust, had drawn up lists of them, and, by sending them round through the cities and provinces in charge of emissaries and agents, had insured an easy victory at the elections. There was a great concourse on the first day at Rome; and in order to swell it, the Government ordered, by a decree contradicting the original edict, that the ballot should continue for three days. Nor was spectacle, that agreeable seasoning for the multitude, neglected; for every evening the ballot-boxes were carried in procession, with blazing torches and military music; neither was there any lack of other allurements, for active partisans got refreshments in the Capitol at the public charge. The precautions requisite to prevent electors from voting more than once had, possibly from want of power or knowledge, not been taken; hence there was afterwards a report

that the poll had been tampered with. I have no certain knowledge what happened; but this I do know, that when they came to another election in Rome, three of those who greatly busied themselves in that matter, and coveted the honour and profits of the popular choice, did deal with the boxes in such a manner, that it was palpable to the upright returning officer, so that they were obliged to resign the trust that they had assumed, which led to scandal and murmurs in the city. At Bologna, the management was more orderly; the concourse was great, and the elections were not uniformly carried according to the wish and pleasure of the clubs. In the capitals of provinces, in the populous cities, and wherever there were either regular troops or legions of volunteers, the voters were numerous; but in the hamlets and villages they were few. No material conflict or dangerous disorder occurred, because nobody attempted serious opposition; the very Bishops, with rare exceptions, had abstained from any formal promulgation of the Pope's Monitory. Only in the insignificant city of Orvieto did there happen, in connection with the Constituent, any thing of moment or to make a stir. The blame of it was laid on the family of the Marquises Gualterio; and Marquis Filippo, who had been Intendent-General to the volunteers in the war of independence, a youth of high spirit, and, steady in his devotion to the constitutional system, ran some risk of his life, and was forced to fly the country. Of course the Republicans dubbed him a reactionist; while the clergy, to this day, hold him little better

than a demagogue. Such is the justice and good sense of party run mad! To make short, the elections ended to the satisfaction of the clubs.

When it had been determined to summon a Constituent Assembly, it would have seemed that the duty of those who bore rule in Rome should have been confined to purposes purely administrative, and to provisions for the public safety. But our Roman dictators were not of this opinion, and they tried their hands in all the departments of legislation, thus ignoring that paramount right of universal suffrage which Armellini had proclaimed, and which was then about to be put in use by the people. On the 4th of January, they enacted a military code, and organic regulations for the judicial processes of courts-martial. On the 5th, they declared the abolition of entails, of cumulative or compound interest upon property, either given, or bequeathed by will, of successive life-interests, and of the long leases, called *pattizie*, or those which pass to a succession of persons. On the same day they enacted, that the obligation to renew decennially the registry of mortgages should be cancelled until further orders. On the 10th of January, they abolished the tax on ground corn, with a temporary exception for the city of Rome and its district; on the 11th, they promulgated a law on the discharge and pensions for the soldiery; on the 13th, they made important amendments of the procedure in civil causes; on the 20th, they established a military commission, empowered to give sentences, without appeal, and to be executed within twenty-four hours, against all sedi-

tious attempts (so runs the decree), even though not consummated, aimed at the lives and properties of citizens, or *tending* in any manner to subvert public order as actually established. Thus were the Commissions of a Gregory and a Rivarola called into new life, and, under the guise of a liberty without limit, "tendencies" to subvert the dominion of the subvertors were brought before the judgment seat.

By a decree of the 19th of January, already noticed, they assumed the sovereign prerogative of mercy; on the 23rd, they enacted the basis of a navigation law, and on the same day they entirely altered those laws that regulated the collection of the direct taxes, with the table of fees payable to the messengers, while they restricted the short coasting traffic to national vessels; on the 29th, they enacted a measure for the retirements of magistrates, judges, and all public officers; they struck out of the civil code the power to bequeath in trust, and out of the commercial, the power to arrest for debt persons not in trade; on the 31st, they authorised the issue of 600,000 crowns of paper money, guaranteed, as the phrase ran, by the transfer of the mortgage on the estates of the appanage; on the 3rd of February, they promulgated the Municipal law, that had been proposed by Mamiani, with a few changes; and materially altered the civil code. Lastly, on the very day for the meeting of the Constituent, the 5th of February, they abolished the judicial fees. I pass over the numerous circular dispatches addressed by Armellini to the Governors of Provinces, the schemes for re-

modelling departments of State, the chopping and changing in the War Office, of which Campello aggravated the pre-existing confusion; I put aside the proclamations, the notes, the commissioners dispatched into the Provinces to inflame the public mind. This only I cannot omit, that in favours, indulgences, promises, these Provisional Rulers were so lavish as utterly to distance the clergy; Armellini most of all, who was keenly anxious to send off in good humour as many as applied to him, and who promised wherever he could not give. And the place-hunters, that pestering fry of insects, the nuisance of modern society, that dry-rot, engendered by the despotic system of government, and more deep-seated in Rome than anywhere else; all these were at harvest, as they ever are when governments and governors are shifting; and Armellini, who wanted a body of retainers, and knew the weak point of the community, attached them to himself, and corrupted them the more.

While then the fortunes of the State and of Italy were thus cast, the leaders of the revolution in Rome marched recklessly on, never reflecting, that Europe was now rallying against the universal revolution, to which the year before she had given way. Its triumphant career had been effectually broken by the battle of June, which Cavaignac won in the streets of Paris. Not to mention the progress of reaction in France as to her domestic concerns, Cavaignac himself had been seen offering and equipping succours for the Pope; the pious declarations of Buonaparte, before his election to the Presidency of the Republic,

had been read; and the recommendations to moderation were well known, which first the ministers of Cavaignac, and then those of the President, had pressed on Rome and on Italy. The Parliament of Germany, assembled at Frankfort, had by its rash freaks and audacious assumptions divided and tired out the country, so as clearly to foreshow that it must soon succumb to the great Powers of the North. Austria had beaten the revolution at Prague, beaten it at Vienna, and set the Sclaves of Croatia by the ears with the Hungarians, who at that moment were on their retreat towards Gross Waradine. Poland had not stirred. Prussia, too, had put down revolt by force; Berlin, like Paris, and Vienna, and a hundred minor cities, had undergone defeat and carnage, and was under military government. Spain, by published diplomatic notes, was inviting all the Catholic Powers to aid the Pontiff. England had advised prudence and an accommodation, and was evidently resolved to take no part in the quarrels of the European continent. What must be the views of Russia, it was no hard matter to divine. Naples was at the mercy of her King, who manifestly was biding his time and opportunity to erase every vestige, every semblance, of free institutions; and the Pope was residing at Gaeta, where the King paid his court, and yielded him every tribute of devotion; while an Austrian Envoy, Count Esterhazy, was already on his way towards the spot, to take his place among the advisers of the Pontiff. Tuscany, where the Revolution seemed to be in the ascendant, was a mere *ignis*

fatuus, to disappear with the first puff of an adverse breeze. Lombardy, the Duchies, and Venezia, save only the city of the Lagunes, were at the feet of the Austrian trooper.

Piedmont was alone in arms, and she, too, was a prey to political faction: while her Government, like others, disapproved of the Roman Revolution, showed deference to the Pontiff, and was intent upon schemes of accommodation; as is abundantly clear from the following note, addressed by Gioberti to Muzzarelli on the 28th of January: —

"Most Illustrious President,

"I have from Gaeta the acceptable intelligence, that Count Martini has been favourably received by the Holy Father in the character of our Ambassador. Together with much more that the Holy Father said to him in regard to the course of affairs, he intimated that it would be agreeable to him, if the Piedmontese Government were to interpose its good offices with the rulers and people of Rome, with a view to an accommodation. I think it my duty, Sir, to apprise you of this overture, that you may make such use of it as you shall think proper. If I may be allowed to state my own view of the subject, I apprehend that, first of all, the Government of Rome should use all its influence to bring the Constituent, now on the point of opening, to recognise, as its first act, the constitutional prerogatives of the Holy Father. With this introduction, it should go on to declare that, in order to define these prerogatives, it is requisite that the Holy Father should be represented by his Delegates in the Assembly itself, or in a Commission named by and having authority from the Assembly. Except on this condition, the Pope never will accept the decisions of the Constituent, howsoever moderate, since he cannot receive the law at the hands of his own subjects without manifest

lesion, not only of his inherited rights, but of the constitution itself. If these two points be gained, an agreement will be feasible. This Government will exert itself to the utmost to induce the Pontiff to allow himself to be represented as a constitutional Sovereign, before the Commission, either directly, or at any rate indirectly; and I will also, to the best of my power, work by means of foreign diplomacy towards the same end. This course will be favourably regarded by France and England, because it tends to harmony, and is necessary to avert the risk of a general war.

"In framing an accommodation between the people of Rome and the Pontiff, it will be requisite to keep in view his religious scruples. Pius IX. will never make a concession in violation of what he thinks an obligation of conscience. Thus there will be occasion for great delicacy of handling, so as not to shock the apprehensive mind of the Pontiff, to waive certain nice points, and to reserve the settlement of them to a later stage, when the tempers of both parties will be more composed. I should, in such case, hope we might be able to discover a plan of accommodation, that would reconcile the pious scruples of the Pontiff with the rights and wishes of the Italians on a comprehensive basis.

"When the Pope and his subjects shall thus have jointly given their adhesion to the constitutional system, it will be requisite to provide for the personal safety of the Holy Father, who, after the recent occurrences, could not re-enter Rome, either with security or with dignity, unless with guarantees against the possible machinations of a few incendiaries. To gain this end without rousing popular jealousy, or disparagement to the dignity of the city, this Government would offer to the Holy Father a guard of picked Piedmontese troops, which should attend him to Rome, and should have it in charge to protect the legitimate power of the Pontiff against a disorderly few, as well as the constitutional rights of the people and of the Parliament against the intrigues and attempts of a handful of retrogradists.

For several weeks I have had the idea, that this would be the most suitable and becoming way to put an end to the existing differences.

"With a view of this kind, I have commenced communications, to which the Pope now appears well inclined. If this course be not adopted, foreign intervention is unavoidable; and however I may leave no stone unturned to prevent it, you, Sir, must see, that in the present uncertainty of affairs, the voice of Piedmont cannot prevail against a general European sentiment. I entreat you, most illustrious President, to take into consideration these remarks of mine, which spring solely from the love I bear to Italy, and from the desire I entertain to avert imminent calamity.

"GIOBERTI."

It was with reason that Gioberti adverted to the impending danger of foreign intervention, and to the struggle that Piedmont was making to ward it off: of which we have evidence, not only in the negotiations for an arrangement carried on at Gaeta and at Rome, but likewise in the reply she made to the note addressed by the Government of Spain to the Courts, on the 21st of December, to invite them to assist the Pontiff. It is well here to place that answer on record.

"*To Señor Bertrand de Lis, Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Queen of Spain, at Turin.*

"I have read with care the important dispatch bearing date the 21st of last December, which you, Sir, were charged by the Cabinet of Madrid to communicate to the Sardinian Government, in order to bring before them a mode of putting a period to the extremely deplorable situation of the Supreme

Pontiff. I take notice, that a similar representation has likewise been addressed to the Cabinets of France, Austria, Portugal, Bavaria, Tuscany, and Naples.

"The Spanish Government, under the influence of the sentiment of religion with which it is animated towards the Head of Christendom, sentiments worthy of a nation eminently Catholic, would propose to open, in Spain or elsewhere, a Congress of the Catholic Powers above-named, to discuss the proper means of bringing about, at the earliest possible period, an accommodation between the Pope and his subjects, in order that the Holy Father may resume the free exercise of all his spiritual rights, and may enjoy the independence, which he requires for the government of the Church. I have made it my duty to submit this important document to the King, my august Master, and then to bring it to the knowledge of my colleagues.

"Scarcely had His Majesty received the tidings of the unhappy events at Rome, when he hastened to state to the Pope what a concern he felt in his deep affliction; nor has he ceased to manifest in every way his most lively anxiety to gain that very end which the Government of Madrid now proposes.

"The King and his Government, animated towards His Holiness by the same spirit of profound veneration that has guided the Cabinet of Madrid, would consequently deem themselves most fortunate in being able to join the conference she suggests, and in thus finding themselves enabled to co-operate, with all the resources at their disposal, for the great purpose, which they desire not less ardently than any other Catholic Sovereign or Government.

"The Cabinet of Spain assures us, that such a Congress would be occupied exclusively with the religious question, and would entirely pass by the domestic politics of the Papal States. The Sardinian Ministry, however, appreciating the truly religious views of the Spanish Government, must nevertheless remark, that it seems improbable that, in an assembly of plenipotentiaries from all the above-named

Powers, a just separation of religious from political questions could be maintained; when it is remembered that the Pope quitted Rome for political causes, and that, in consequence, the path of his return among his subjects is beset with civil difficulties, which it will be necessary first of all to clear away.

"The temporal question stands in close relations with the spiritual, and the one mixes with the other: and, as in debate it would be impossible to cut off the spiritual rights of the Pope, without wounding his temporal prerogatives, it would consequently be requisite to treat the two questions simultaneously in the same Congress: which would be directly contrary to the views of the Italian Powers. Again, among the Governments invited to send plenipotentiaries to the conference is found, with others, that of Austria. Now, there cannot be a doubt, that the States of the Italian Peninsula would not at this moment allow Austria to take any part in such a meeting, even could its business be limited to the spiritual matter totally severed from the temporal. To these considerations I must likewise add, that in the actual state of the public mind of Italy, and therefore, also, in the Pontifical States, the intervention of the above-named foreign Powers would be but too unpalatable to the subjects of the Pope, and would so embitter them against him, that even supposing an accommodation between them could be effected by such means, it would bear the impress of foreign coercion; it could not but be precarious and short-lived, and would accordingly both miss its immediate aim, and operate likewise to the prejudice of religion.

"Nevertheless, the King's Cabinet, commending the ideas which have suggested the project now before it to the signal piety of H. M. the Queen of Spain, and to her respected Government, would recommend making, in perfect concert, every effort for attaining by another plan the very same end, so much desired for the good of religion. This plan would be to apply directly to the Holy Pontiff, with the view of persuading him to return to Rome, and to invite him to use his in-

fluence in maintaining the constitution that he conferred on his subjects. And the diplomatists of the various Catholic Courts, in combining their exertions for this important purpose, should scrupulously avoid every kind of stir and publicity, and most of all whatever might bear the appearance of any thing like compulsion.

"Lastly, it would be most desirable that the same Governments should dispatch to Rome persons of prudence, who would inspire the moderate party there with energy, to prevent proceeding to an absolute rupture with the Supreme Pontiff. His Majesty's Government believe, that by this course alone could the matter be fitly adjusted, in the interest alike of the Holy Father, of Religion, and of the Papal States. It is accordingly in this sense, that they have already instructed the King's representatives at Gaeta.

"I have pleasure in the hope, that the Spanish Cabinet will be disposed to believe this reply to be prompted by the same sentiments, which have suggested the praiseworthy idea contemplated by the project now before me. In this full confidence I avail myself of the present occasion to offer to you, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

"GIOBERTI,
"President of the Council, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

The hopes, then, entertained at Rome were ill founded: and those, who at the beginning of 1849 gave countenance to extreme courses, were out in their reckoning, as well as mischievous to freedom and to Italy. The members of the Constituent assembled in Rome without having taken steadily, if we except a few, to any resolution. But there the Republican agents, and the Committee for the Clubs of Italy, managed by Vannucci, De Boni, and Dal-

longaro, got about them with every sort of influence, to bring them into their own scheme of proclaiming the Republic. The Deputies met, part at the residence of the Sicilian La Masa, part at that of Beretta from Ancona; and some attended both the one and the other. At the first, where Canino presided, Republican sentiments and appetites prevailed. At the other, Mamiani used to take the chair, and the endeavour there was to prevent any attack on the Pope's Sovereignty or the proclamation of a Republic. The Provisional Committee of Government likewise gave out, that it was opposed to these extreme courses. Muzzarelli asseverated it, and Sterbini indicated too late a leaning towards prudence. But Accursi, himself managed by the Republican agents of Mazzini, wrought upon the conscience of Armellini, who was now busied in framing, after their wishes and perhaps partly in their words, the speech that he meant to pronounce before the Constituent Assembly.

To that we shall return, after having given further information about the negotiations which were going on at Gaeta.

CHAP. X.

REASON FOR GIVING COPIOUS INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTS ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT AT GAETA AND THE DIPLOMATISTS.—COUNT MARTINI AT GAETA: LANGUAGE OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE, AND HIS LANGUAGE.—LANGUAGE OF COUNT SPAUR.—HIS PROCEEDINGS, AND THOSE OF D'HARCOURT.—PROPOSALS OF GIOBERTI.—TEXT OF A DISPATCH FROM HIM.—OF ONE FROM CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—OF ONE FROM MUZZARELLI.—REPLY OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI TO THE INSTANCES OF MARTINI.—REPLY OF THE HOLY FATHER: HIS EXPRESSION.—M. LATOUR D'AUVERGNE AT GAETA.—REMONSTRANCES OF FRANCE.—CARDINAL GIRAUD.—LANGUAGE OF COUNT LUDOLF.—FURTHER SCHEMES OF THE COURT.—MARTINEZ DE LA ROSA.—LUDOLF THE YOUNGER.—MARTINI: DISPATCH OF GIOBERTI.—THREATENED PROTEST OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—MARTINI RECOGNISED AS SARDINIAN MINISTER.—LANGUAGE OF THE POPE.—ADVICE OF THE PRUSSIAN ENVOY.—BARGAGLI AT GAETA.—PROTESTS OF TUSCANY AND PIEDMONT.—LANGUAGE OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI CONCERNING THE ONE AND THE OTHER.—LANGUAGE OF THE HOLY FATHER TO BARGAGLI.—MONSIGNOR BEDINI DISPATCHED TO FRANCE.—PASSAGE FROM A RUSSIAN DISPATCH.—PROCEEDINGS OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI AND OF THE COURT OF NAPLES.—ACCUSANIONS AGAINST PIEDMONT BY THE MINISTRY OF NAPLES.—RESENTMENT OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—DISPATCHES OF GIOBERTI.—COUNT ESTERHAZY AT GAETA.—CONSISTORY OF CARDINALS, AND ITS DECISION.—TERMS OF THE REQUEST FOR INTERVENTION.—DISPATCH OF GIOBERTI.—INFERENCES FROM THE NARRATIVE UP TO THIS POINT.

IF, on reverting to Gaeta, I still employ myself in gathering information and documents relating to the proceedings of the Court and the diplomatists, I hope to escape blame from those who are in quest not so much of an easy and flowing narrative, as of

materials for forming a solid judgment on the causes and relations of events. Those events, indeed, of which I treat in this Book have had, and still more perhaps will have in future, such influence on the destinies of civilisation at large, that the study of their sources and progress belongs rather to European, than to Roman or Italian history.

With the middle of November, then, ends that portion of the narrative, which may be called the epoch of the attempt to remodel the Popedom for political purposes, and to raise Italy to the condition of a free and independent nation. We now commence a period in the history of the Papacy, which, in relation to the people of its own States, to Italy, and to Europe, is wholly or mainly new. Every thing must now yield to the paramount spiritual sway of the Sovereign of Rome. His three millions of subjects, with Italy and freedom to boot, are but dust in the balance. It is no political struggle at all; it is a crusade to the tomb of St. Peter: the moving power is the same as before, only then towards the East, now in the West. The Roman agitators used to say, that the reaction had nestled at Gaeta, and they were right: but they failed to see, that this was the legitimate upshot of deeds which they had foolishly taken for aids and enlargements to liberty: they failed to see that the reaction was now no longer Roman or Italian, but European, or rather Catholic. A while before, they had hailed the anticipated alliance of two hundred millions of Catholics with the Sovereign of Rome; and did they then imagine that their political contest

with him could proceed and terminate without the verification of that augury? The true European reactionists (to express myself in the popular manner) are those, who, in the middle of November 1848, violently interrupted the reconstruction of the Popedom, and who, out of a civil, political, and Italian question, made one of spiritual order for all Catholic nations. Every man will ratify my judgment who does but elevate his vision beyond the narrow circle of our municipal feuds, and who, setting out from this movement in the affairs of Rome, follows it into the history of Europe. The only rational efforts that were made, from that time forward, to erect any barrier against the menaced reaction, were made after the 16th of November by those very Constitutionalists, whom the agitators dubbed reactionary; or were made by Piedmont, against which the complaints of that party were so loud. This has been shown by the information and the documents I have been able to furnish above, and it will become yet clearer in the sequel.

Count Enrico Martini, ambassador from King Charles Albert to the Pontiff, when on his way through Rome to Gaeta, had held such communications with the Constitutionalists, as were suggested by his Government, by his love for Italy, and by the mental qualities that adorned him. When he presented himself, on the 11th of January, to Cardinal Antonelli, he learned "that the Holy Father required a day or two for reflection before receiving him in the capacity of minister from the King," for these

reasons, as given by the Cardinal: "that the usage of asking the acceptance of a fresh ambassador had not been observed: that the Government of Piedmont maintained relations of business with the rebels at Rome: that the notion of interposing as a mediator between the Holy Father and the rebels" (the Cardinal used a more intemperate phrase) "was one unworthy of the King's Government: that the presence of Spini and Pinto in Turin, as Envoys from Rome, was not to be endured; nor could the idea, apparently entertained by the Piedmontese Government, of bringing the Constituent for Italy into existence, bear a favourable construction."

As to the formalities in regard to the Holy Father which had been overlooked, Martini pleaded the pressure for time, and the proofs of respect and veneration for the Pontiff, which his Government had already given through the medium of former ministers. As to the endeavours made in Rome for an accommodation, he said it seemed to him they could hardly be made matter of blame against a Christian Government, and by a Papal Court: the Constituent projected by the Gioberti ministry was not that of Montanelli, but was federative only: Spini and Pinto had repaired to Turin, not as Envoys or Ambassadors, but simply to promote, as matter of business, the Italian Federation.

The day following, the Pontiff, having consented to receive Count Martini as a private visitor, held language to him little differing from that of the Cardinal, though more guarded in point of form. When the conversation had turned upon the best

mode of reinstating the temporal authority of the Popedom, the Envoy of Sardinia adverted to the schemes of the Constitutionalists, the necessity of an accommodation, the advantage of calling in, should it fail, only Italian aid, the certain mischief and peril of aid from the stranger. To this the Holy Father answered, that he had little or rather no confidence in the Italian Governments; he had his suspicions of the Moderates; he looked for foreign intervention; the Church was not national but universal, and the Pontiff was yet more her Head than he was the Father of his own subjects. He intimated, that an Austrian intervention was likely; and when Martini appeared a good deal moved and perturbed at this, he subjoined, "What would you have? They have brought it on themselves."

On the very day when the Pontiff was using this language, Count Spaur told the Count Van Liedekerke, Minister of Holland, that an Austrian Ambassador would soon reach Gaeta, and that within a fortnight the Roman nuisance would be at an end. Count Spaur looked askance upon Martini, and was always contriving means to prevent the Pontiff from receiving him in the character of Sardinian Envoy, or lending an ear to his counsels. On the other hand, the Duc D'Harcourt wrote to the Pope, that the course taken with regard to King Charles Albert and his Ambassador seemed to him both imprudent and improper. And Spaur appears to have been near enough the mark, when he gave out, that Austria was to descend into the lists, as the champion of the

Church in semblance, but really as the foe of Italian independence; because the ministry of Piedmont, at the time of which we are now treating, had grounds for the belief, that she was about to make some attempt at a surprise in Romagna; of which Gioberti apprized his Envoy at Gaeta, that he might proceed to ask the Pope's permission for the Piedmontese to march thither by way of garrison. And when he saw, how from day to day men were losing sight of any idea of amicable arrangement, Gioberti, through the medium of Rosellini, whom he had sent to Rome, and of Martini, broke off all treating for a league or alliance with the rulers of Rome, as may be inferred from the following passage in a dispatch of his.

"The latest events at Rome, and the breach rapidly widening between its Government and the Holy Father, put alliance or confederation, of whatever kind, out of the question. Nor will it avail to say that the Constituent for Rome will not invade the rights of the Pontiff, because no one can foresee at what the Roman Assembly will ultimately stop, or be confident that heated spirits may not push matters beyond all reasonable bounds. And even should this prove otherwise, the fact that the Pope regards the very existence of the Assembly as an act of criminality will suffice to bring down upon the States of the Church the weight of one half Europe. The alliance with Piedmont, without being of the smallest use to the Romans, would injure us all, by extinguishing the forlorn hope of Italy."

Thus did Gioberti reply to the rulers of Rome, when they applied for an alliance with Piedmont; and thus does history answer those, who accuse Piedmont of a design to usurp the Papal throne.

But the suspicions of the Court of Gaeta, sedulously fostered by Spaur, continued ever wakeful; as was also its spleen against all persons disposed to moderation. This is proved by the note which Cardinal Antonelli addressed to Martini on the 12th of January. Here it is.

"Most distinguished Sir,

"I hasten to acknowledge to Your Excellency the receipt of your note of this day's date, in which you acquaint me, that you have been appointed, by H. M. the King of Sardinia, to succeed H. E. the Marquis Domenico Pareto in the honourable office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See; and in which you ask accordingly an audience of His Holiness, in order to present the Royal credentials, whereof you transmit to me the usual transcript.

"I cannot in truth conceal from Your Excellency, the natural surprise caused by my receiving the announcement of a new minister from Sardinia to His Holiness, when that announcement had not been preceded, according to the practice very long established, and grounded upon solid reasons, by any notice either through the Minister before actually accredited, or through the Apostolic Nuncio resident in Turin.

"However, let that be as it may, before I ask the Holy Father to give you, Sir, who by your distinguished gifts have been enabled to acquire the full confidence of your Government, the honour of presenting to him the official letter of the King, which accredits you in the above-named capacity, I find myself under the necessity, by express command from His Holiness, of requesting from the King's Government, through Monsignor the Apostolic Nuncio, explicit explanations respecting its disposition towards that of the Holy Father: whether, that is, its view may be to keep a minister at the Court of His Holiness in his double capacity

as Head of Christianity, and as Sovereign of the States of Holy Church. Next, whether the Government of His Sardinian Majesty has received, or is prepared to receive, agents of the illegal and sacrilegious Government that has set itself up in Rome, and to maintain relations with them, either formal, or of business only. Further, whether it means to hold relations of the like nature through the medium of any resident of its own, however denominated, with the said self-styled Government of Rome, as there is every ground for supposing, in conformity with the Letter addressed by your August Sovereign to the Holy Father on the 24th of last December.

"The Holy Father is willing to trust, that the explanations will be such as may rightfully be expected from the piety of the Sardinian King; who will shrink from inducing, in any, even the remotest, manner, the suspicion that he would bring into question the sacrosanct and inviolable rights of the Holy See, and will scout the very idea of entering into relations with men who, by assuming to themselves an illegal and sacrilegious power, have fallen within the sweep of the censures of the Church.

"When declarations such as these shall have been made, it will be my business to take the pleasure of the Holy Father afresh, in order to find myself in a condition to enter upon the proper functions of my Department towards you. In the mean time I am happy to convey to you the expression of the distinguished and particular esteem of

Your true servant,

"G. Cardinal Antonelli."

The Government of Sardinia, which, in order to save the Constitutional liberties of the Roman States, and to hinder the invasion of the stranger, was desirous of amity with the Holy See, determined on summoning from Rome to Gaeta even the Count di Minerva, its Secretary of Legation; and induced the

rulers of Rome themselves to announce, that Spini and Pinto had no sort of official commission in Turin. This was done by Muzzarelli, in the following dispatch addressed to them.

" *To Signors Pinto and Spini, special Agents of the Roman Government at Turin.* 15*th January*, 1849.

"Gentlemen,

"It has been stated to me that the Holy Father is not over well inclined to receive in due form the Minister Plenipotentiary Martini, by reason of the suspicion he entertains, that you are recognised at Turin in a diplomatic capacity, and as Envoys of the Government of Rome.

"I beg you, Gentlemen, to be good enough to ascertain, with all that skilful circumspection which belongs to your talents and capabilities, whether this be actually the case, and whether the present Government of Sardinia has been actually exposed to any diplomatic remonstrance. In such case, as it is our very first object to avoid embarrassing Piedmont, on which now repose the entire hopes of Italy, I request you not to lose an instant in announcing to Signor Gioberti, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the Government of Rome has never confided to you anything beyond a special charge and business, and that you do not formally represent any one, or bear any diplomatic character at Turin. You will invite Signor Gioberti to make use of this explanation of a matter of fact, for the purpose of preventing any suspension of relations with the Supreme Pontiff.

"Without my further impressing it upon you, you will be sufficiently sensible of the extreme necessity of following out what I have sketched with the utmost discretion and with all possible promptitude. I therefore have only to renew to you the expression of my particular esteem.

"C. E. MUZZARELLI."

But not even this availed to bring about the recep-

tion of Martini in his official capacity, or the acceptance of the offer of a Piedmontese corps for the defence of Romagna. To that offer Cardinal Antonelli replied, "that the Holy Father could not, under the idea of promoting the national cause of Italy, compromise the true interests of Holy Church. As she is universal, it was his duty to place his own case upon a comprehensive basis, worthy of her, which he had done by making his appeal to all the Catholic Princes. That Austria, if she should move, would doubtless move in answer to the appeal so lodged; and accordingly it would be dishonourable in the Holy See to be a party to hindering her." Nor was the answer of His Holiness very different, for he said "he could not by any means concur in offering impediments to the march of troops who plainly would be repairing to his assistance." The Holy Father showed emotion at the glowing language in which Martini both urged the cause of Italy, and augured likewise the utmost detriment to the Papacy; but he then concluded, with a sigh, "What would you have me do? It is too late." Thus it was plain, that Spaur and the Neapolitan King had managed their matters so successfully as to persuade the Pontiff, from the very beginning of his exile, that Austria and Naples alone must replace him on his throne. It was plain that Austrian assistance was asked, expected, and desired.

When, however, the French Government got an inkling of these designs, and came to suspect, not without grounds, that the Imperial Court had been invited by that of Rome, with pressing representa-

tions, to come promptly to the rescue, it dispatched M. Latour d'Auvergne to Gaeta with instructions to join the Minister the Duc d'Harcourt in seriously expostulating with the Holy Father. They accordingly stated to him what were the misgivings of their Government, and requested him to be good enough to assure them that he neither had asked, nor anticipated, support and aid from Vienna earlier than from Paris; with this inquiry, whether, in case Austria should put her forces in motion apart from any concert with the other Governments, His Holiness had made up his mind to protest against such an intervention, "which assuredly must be designed rather for the advantage of Austrian influence in Italy, than to aid the Holy See." Finally they said, that if Austria stirred, France too would direct her forces towards the Roman States, and would garrison with them some place of importance.

Neither the Holy Father, nor Cardinal Antonelli, gave any distinct answer. It is, however, unquestionable, that the remonstrances of France foiled in some degree, at that period, the schemes of Naples and Austria.

On the 17th, Cardinal Giraud, Archbishop of Cambray, arrived at Gaeta, as the Envoy of the French Clergy, with the privity of the Government, to invite the Pontiff anew to repair to France, as he had repeatedly, if not promised, yet indicated his intention, to do. To this he replied that, having engaged to visit France, he would undoubtedly do it, but was unable at the time. Meanwhile, Count Ludolf was

holding this language in the diplomatic circles; that it was impossible the Holy Father could give way "to the importunate solicitations of the French Government." Amidst the other notions which the Courts of Gaeta and Naples were revolving, was that of picking up such soldiers as might betake themselves from Rome across the frontier, enrolling volunteers, and forming a camp on the borders, with the aid of the Swiss, whom King Ferdinand was to lend, as well as of those, too, who were expected from Bologna; and then to aim a blow at Rome, while the Austrians were simultaneously to make demonstrations on the northern confines of the State, should they be prevented from doing more by the complaints of France. Señor Martinez de la Rosa had instructions from his Government to promise assistance, on condition of a concert with the other Governments of Europe; but he himself was so eager to satisfy any wish whatever of the Papal Court, that he entered into all the covert proceedings a good deal more than became his position. Yet the advisers and managers after Cardinal Antonelli's own heart were Spaur and Ludolf. The son of the latter, who was agent for Naples at Turin, and acted there the part of a spy more than of a minister, wrote notes full of cavil and mistrust about the intentions of Piedmont and about the King's ministers; and his letters were regularly placed beneath the eye of His Holiness. The liberal counsels of the Duc d'Harcourt were scouted; and although Pius IX. was kind in his manner to Martini, yet he still declined to recognise him in the capacity of minister; because, besides the

grounds and pretexts already enumerated, Spaur and Ludolf hinted that he was a Lombard, and therefore an Austrian subject.

Accordingly, as the Piedmontese Government did not choose any longer to put up with such an insult, Gioberti on the 16th of January addressed a dispatch to Martini, in which, after placing on record the proofs of their sincerity, he went on to say,—

"That his own conduct and that of his predecessor were according to all the principles of international law unimpeachable; and ought, as it seemed to him, to have been so much the more acceptable to Rome, as the mild and kindly genius of an ecclesiastical Government must beget a predisposition to the idea of accommodation, and a repugnance to the abrupt, violent, and haughty courses, which are unbecoming even to a lay Government."

He went on and concluded as follows:—

"Seeing that the offer of mediation is displeasing to the Pope's Government, His Majesty withdraws it. Yet His Majesty and His Ministers do not believe that the Government of Rome is (according to the phrase of Cardinal Antonelli) a Government of assassins; nor that the spirit of disaffection is confined to a few; but they leave the decision of this point to the rare perspicacity of Cardinal Antonelli. In like manner the King readily withdraws the offer of armed assistance, since the Pontiff is not pleased to accept it. But he desires it should be known, that in tendering to the Holy Father the mediation of Piedmont, he was influenced by Italian and Catholic views. His belief was, that a pacific and kindly interposition must be more palatable to the Vicar of Christ than the violent and blood-stained paths of warfare, and that the aid of an Italian Sovereign would be preferred by Pius IX. to German succours. However, in regard to

these points also he freely throws himself on the pious and patriotic wisdom of Cardinal Antonelli.

"Such then, distinguished Sir, are the exact sentiments of His Majesty and of the Government of Piedmont, which you will be pleased to lay with humility and deference before the Holy Father, and with a decided frankness before Cardinal Antonelli. You will likewise observe to both, in the same modes respectively, that the King of Sardinia and his Government have nothing to repent and nothing to excuse in all they have done with reference to the Holy Father, and that, after the mission they have sent, the mediation they have proposed, and the force they have offered, they conceive they were entitled to a different treatment.

"Should the Government of His Holiness be satisfied with these reasons, and should your Excellency's character meet with official recognition forthwith, you will continue to act therein at the Court of the Holy Father; but on the contrary supposition, and should there, after the foregoing reasons shall have been stated, be the smallest delay in acknowledging your character as Envoy Extraordinary, you will quit Gaeta, and will, without any stay in Rome, return to Piedmont."

He further wrote, that nothing but reverence for the Holy See withheld him for the time from regarding the Spanish intervention, which was talked of, or any foreign intervention whatever, as an immediate *casus belli*; adding, that should the fact be established, His Majesty would make a formal protest before Italy and all friendly Powers.

At the same time, as there was a report that a Spanish squadron was about to reach Gaeta with a land force of a thousand men on board, which would be followed by more ships and more troops, the Government of Piedmont circulated a remonstrance to

the various Courts, which it wound up in these terms: —

"In the event of such an armed intervention in Italy on the part of a foreign Government, and in relation to the differences which have arisen between the Pope and his subjects, the King's Government cannot dissemble, that it could not fail to entail the most serious embarrassments, and the most unpalatable consequences, not only on the Papal States, but on all the Peninsula. Accordingly, they feel it a duty to draw the attention of the various Governments concerned to the hazards, with which this new source of complications in Italian affairs must teem. At the same time, and although the intervention in question has not yet come within official cognizance, yet in the view of the weighty considerations just now stated, the undersigned finds himself under the obligation to protest in the most formal manner, before all foreign Governments, against any intervention of such a kind.

"GIOBERTI."

The resolute and hardy declarations of the Piedmontese Government, and the representations of France, gained this point, that Martini was at length recognised in his official character, and formally received by His Holiness on the 23rd of the month. The Pope greeted him courteously, and at the time appeared so fully reconciled to Piedmont, and so free of suspicion, that he did not condemn the ideas and endeavours at mediation, but rather seemed to welcome and encourage them; or at the least he said, "he should not interfere," indicating thereby his confidence in King Charles Albert. But afterwards, whenever the conversation fell on Italy and her nationality, he reiterated the sentiments he had on previous occa-

sions expressed about the universality of the Church, and said, that however much he might love Italy, it was his duty to invoke and employ, in defence of the Church's territories, the arms of all Catholics, and not of Italians only.

Prussia, too, advanced counsels of her own, and her Envoy at Gaeta exerted himself to procure an agreement between Austria and France, as he thought it a good plan that the Austrians should occupy the North of the Papal States, and the French the South. But the Duc d'Harcourt did not lend a ready ear to such proposals, and Martini kept him steady to the liberal views. About that time Tuscany also had sent a Minister, Bargagli, to Gaeta. He made known there the protests of his Government against a Spanish intervention, at the same moment when Martini produced those of the Government of Piedmont. 'Two Spanish men-of-war had now reached Gaeta, the frigate Mazzaredo, and the brig Veladore; but they had no land forces on board. They brought, however, a General, come to announce to the Holy Father the early arrival of fresh vessels with 1,200 soldiers.

Of the protest of Piedmont, Cardinal Antonelli spoke thus to Martini: "that Spain had no intention of interfering in the affairs of Italy, nor in the political affairs even of Rome, but only of placing at the disposal of the Holy Father, with a delicate tact, some amount of force, which might attend him whithersoever he should wish to go." But of the protest of the Tuscan Government he used very warm language to Bargagli, subjoining, "that the succours from Spain

were not the only ones expected, for Count Esterhazy would speedily arrive at Gaeta as ambassador of Austria, and with the announcement of others." Afterwards the Holy Father himself told Bargagli "that he did not doubt the Austrians would interfere within the States of the Church, for they regarded the 'Constituent' of Rome as placing their own interests in jeopardy." The ill blood between the Papal Court and the Tuscan Government had been exasperated, since the latter had determined to send Deputies to Rome to sit along with the Romans in a Constituent Assembly for Italy. Whether it were that Bargagli had instructions not to brook the upbraidings he got on this score, or from some other cause, at the end of the month he set out from Gaeta, in the direction of Rome. The Duc d'Harcourt, too, who was not much in favour, went off to Naples, whither the other foreign Ministers at the Papal Court repaired, to attend the Session of Parliament, then on the eve of being opened. The Papal Court dispatched Monsignor Bedini into France, under a feigned name, to devise arrangements with the Catholic party there for foiling the opposition of the Government to its designs.

Encouragements reached Gaeta not only from the Catholic powers, but likewise from the heterodox, as appears by the following paragraph of a Russian note, which I translate textually from the French:—

"The affairs of Rome have been a source of serious reflection to the Government of H. M. the Emperor of the Russias; and it would be a gross error to suppose that we

feel a less lively interest, than the Catholic Governments, in the actual situation of Pope Pius IX. It is beyond doubt, that the Holy Father will find in H. M. the Emperor a cordial ally, for the re-establishment of his power, temporal and spiritual; and that the Russian Government will freely concur in all the measures that may conduce to such an end; for it does not cherish towards the Court of Rome any sentiment of rivalry, or any religious animosity."

Whatever laudable efforts, then, Martini might make to restrain the Roman Court from throwing itself into the arms of the enemies of Italian freedom and independence, matters had now reached such a point that such efforts could not but fail. If at times the Holy Father showed himself not disinclined to mild counsels, he would unsay them afterwards, and Cardinal Antonelli would wrest his words to a doubtful or contrary sense; while the Court of Naples applied itself adroitly to rekindling suspicion and stimulating alarm in his mind, using all diligence to engender the belief, that every proffer of Piedmont veiled a design to gain possession of a great slice of the Papal States. The Neapolitan Ministers averred, that they had proofs of it; and the Prince Cariati himself disseminated the statement, not at Naples and Gaeta only, but in France. On learning this, the Piedmontese Government was so indignant, that they determined on recalling from Naples the Senator Plezza, whose rank and mission that Court had not yet thought fit to recognise, and sent the Neapolitan Envoy resident in Turin his passports, thus breaking off all diplomatic intercourse. Gioberti wrote in these terms: —

"This decision of ours has not been caused solely by the arbitrary refusal of the Cabinet of Naples to recognise Signor Plezza, without the allegation of any valid reason (for those that were tendered have been confuted), or by the unmannerly treatment offered him; but also, and more, by the unworthy calumny, imputing to us an effort to rob the Pope of the Legations, which the Prince Cariati has disseminated in France. I trust that the mind of the Pontiff will not for one instant harbour a suspicion of such infamy. It may indeed fitly serve to show him, what is the character of the Cabinet that has invented it. The candid and frank mind of Pius IX. is, however, apt to be taken in by the grimaces of certain personages, who act the saint at Gaeta, but at Naples make their sport of Religion, and of the August Head who is its symbol.

"You will endeavour to infuse into the Pontiff confidence in Piedmont, and to inspire him with a disposition to reconciliation and to pardon, as towards Rome; the only disposition accordant to his kind heart, his sacred character, or the interest of our religion."

On the evening of the 4th of February, Count Maurice Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador, reached Gaeta. After a long conversation with Cardinal Antonelli, he had an audience of His Holiness next morning. A Consistory of Cardinals was summoned for the 7th, and there it was resolved to request armed assistance forthwith from Austria, France, Spain, and Naples; in such terms, that it might be given by any one of them, independently of any mutual understanding with the rest. Although Count Esterhazy had pointed out the necessity of a concert between Austria and France, yet the Court of Gaeta craftily couched its demand in such a form, that

Austria and Naples might be able to march on the instant. If this contrivance did not gain the speedy advantage which was hoped from it, it was owing to the remonstrances of France, the caution of Austria, unable at that moment to plunge into a dangerous enterprise, the length of the negotiations, and other incidents, to which I shall have to advert in the sequel. Meantime it was fixed, that Piedmont should be struck out of the list of the Catholic Powers at whose hands aid was sought: and thus Austria and Naples had a complete victory at Gaeta. Charles Albert was deeply annoyed by this decision, and Gioberti wrote to the King's Envoy in language strong and worthy of record.

"The Papal Court," he said, "does not know who are its true friends. If it did, none would rank before Piedmont. I flattered myself I had given proof of my affection and devotion to the Holy See, both as a private individual, and since I entered on the conduct of public affairs. I conceive that my short administration has given greater proofs of attachment to the Holy Father than all preceding ones. The Court of Gaeta, by passing upon me judgments worse than precipitate, shows itself not over observant in this respect of the evangelical precepts; and in these opinions it has no partisans but the republicans. I congratulate myself on this singular harmony between Giuseppe Mazzini and his Eminence the Cardinal; and I seek comfort in the idea that the rest of Italy thinks rather differently.

"The distinguished Cardinal complains that, in pressing on the Romans language of peace and concord, the Government of Piedmont has done harm to Rome, "by preventing matters from coming to the worst;" but this must have sprung from the animation of the moment, not from mature reflection;

inasmuch as his Eminence cannot have forgotten that Gospel rules take precedence of political chicane, and that any sovereign or minister, who wishes for evil that good may come of it, can reap no other reward than infamy in this life, and hell in the next.

"Possibly the Government of Gaeta, in excluding Piedmont from the list of Catholic Governments, has omitted to calculate the political difficulties of its position. Possibly it imagines, that we are disposed to put in practice the theory of Christianity as held by Cardinal Antonelli; and that I shall postpone every other consideration to the desire of gratifying Pius IX. . . . But my first aim is to repress mob rule, and to save our institutions; and towards this aim all my operations must be directed.

"The Parliament of Piedmont will never allow of Austrian interference in the affairs of Rome. We have 100,000 men, who can fight the German in the Papal States, just as well as on the banks of the Mincio and the Adige.

"The Court of Gaeta should reflect seriously on its own interests. . . . Piedmont will ever be devoted to the spiritual Head of the Church; but Piedmont may protest, may hinder Austria from interference at the heart of Italy, and from dishonouring with its arms the holy cause of the Pontiff.

"I trust the Court of Gaeta may be disposed to fall back upon sentiments more evangelical, more worthy of Pius IX. I am grieved to say it; but the Government of Gaeta, by repudiating the idea of reconciliation, and preferring vengeance and bloodshed, shuts its eyes to the fact that it is spurning the maxims of Christ, and preferring those of Mahomet.

"You will please to state these views, respectfully, but with frankness, to his Eminence the Cardinal. Heaven grant they may work for good, and that I may not be forced to repeat them in the face of all Europe. I have, &c."

From the narrative up to this point, it is plain that,

after the departure of the Pope from Rome, the Constitutionalists in the first instance laboured for an amicable accommodation, and afterwards offered to do and dare for the restoration of the Constitutional Throne. It is also plain, that the Government of Piedmont was lavish in its encouragements, its counsels, its tenders to the Pontiff, and that the Court of Gaeta turned its back on the Constitutionalists and on the Government of Piedmont, while it desired and decided on the aid of the stranger. We see, lastly, that the Court of Naples was indefatigable in counteracting every conception of a liberal and Italian tendency. Enough, then, for the present, of the affairs of Gaeta, as the course of events takes us back to Rome to pursue our narrative.

CHAP. XI.

FIRST MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY ON THE FIFTH OF FEBRUARY. — SPEECH OF ARMELLINI AND HIS CONCLUDING WORDS. — CANINO, GARIBALDI, AND STERBINI'S OBSERVATION. — SITTING OF THE 7TH. — DEBATE ON THE ELECTION OF DE LUCA TRONCHET. — LANGUAGE OF GALLETTI ON BEING CHOSEN PRESIDENT. — DEMAND OF AUDINOT. — SITTING OF THE 8TH: CANINO'S CENSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT. — EXAMINATION OF ITS CORRESPONDENCE. — DISPATCH FROM CASTELLANI, AND INCIDENTS. — LANGUAGE OF BORGATTI. — OF STERBINI. — SPEECH OF SAVINI. — OF MAMIANI. — OF MASI. — OF FILOPANTI: HIS PROPOSITIONS. — OF AGOSTINI. — OF RUSCONI. — MOTION OF STERBINI TO ADJOURN THE DEBATE. — ADJOURNED DEBATE: SPEECH OF AUDINOT. — OF STERBINI. — OF VINCIGUERRA. — OF GABUSSI. — OF CANINO: HIS PERORATION. — MOTION OF MAMIANI. — SPEECH OF CESARI. — LANGUAGE OF MONGHINI, STERBINI, AND SAFFI. — DISORDER IN THE GALLERIES, AND FURTHER INCIDENTS. — MOTION OF FILOPANTI. — VOTE TAKEN. — DECREE. — THE REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED FROM THE CAPITOL.

On the 5th of February the Constituent Assembly met in the same hall of the *Cancelleria* Palace, in which the Council of Deputies had before been used to meet. One hundred and forty representatives of the people (as they were called) were present. Armellini, having mounted the tribune, congratulated the members, with anticipations of plenary freedom and unity for Italy; and, having denounced divine right, he did homage to the sovereignty of the people. He then touched on the principal points in the reign of Pius IX., and, passing judgments upon them not always just or accurate, he went on to relate the

circumstances that had occurred since the Pope's departure, with the proceedings of the Ministry of the 16th of November, and of the Provisional Government; and he concluded with the following words:—

"The sympathy of the nations democratically governed will never fail to resist those who might attempt to overwhelm us by numbers and physical force. Our cause is not isolated, is not the cause of a single people, but reaches far and wide, inasmuch as democracy daily makes way and encroaches on the ascendancy of the old system. In this view, we have allies everywhere. It is no longer practicable to stifle a whole people with impunity for having dared to proclaim its natural right of self-government at its own pleasure. An Holy Alliance now finds its adversaries within its own bosom. A different alliance, of an higher holiness, that between peoples, every day waxes larger and firmer, to abase and to combat, if need be, even that of kings.

"As respects ourselves, the orderly development of the plan of universal suffrage has shown, that our people, in proclaiming its own sovereignty, has proclaimed a right which it is qualified to exercise. Universal suffrage has not, perhaps, been put in practice so regularly and extensively, even in the countries which gave that system birth.

"This people, the first in Italy to find itself free, has invited you to the Capitol to inaugurate a new era for the country; to release it from the yoke, whether domestic or foreign; to reconstitute it as a Nation; to clear it at once from the old incubus of tyranny, and from the new imposture of Constitutions. You meet, citizens, amid the monuments of two mighty epochs. On the one hand lie the ruins of the Italy of the Cæsars, on the other the ruins of the Italy of the Pope; be it yours to raise a fabric that will sit firmly upon the fragments. Think not the work of life inferior to that of death, and may the banner of the people's Italy blaze proudly on the spot, where sleep the thunders of the Roman eagle

and the Vatican. With this preface, we inaugurate your immortal labours, under the auspices of these two most sacred names, Italy and the People."

It is said that this speech, mightily applauded by the members, and by the bellowers of the public galleries, had not been approved in all its parts by the colleagues of Armellini; and there are those who affirm that, by means of Accursi, the Republicans managed to have a hand in it, and to amend it a little before the opening of the Assembly. When it had been read throughout, the Prince of Canino, in answering to the roll-call, shouted "Long live the Republic!" and Garibaldi said, "What use to lose time in vain formalities? the delay even of a minute is a crime: long live the Republic!" The audience in the galleries applauded, but a buzz arose among the members. Hereupon Sterbini held this language, that they ought to observe the usages and forms common with Parliaments; and not to decide under a rush of passion, but with matured reflection. So then Sterbini had lived to see the day that he, too, had to appeal to prudence. He went on speaking, or rather chattering, upon this incident, until the names of the members were drawn by lot, to be divided into sections for the purpose of verifying the returns. At the sitting of the 7th, they set about this business, when a dispute arose about the election of one Agatone de Luca Tronchet, once a pontifical carabineer, then a judge of inquisition in the Gregorian Commissions, then, when the times turned, a turn-coat offering incense to the people, organising political clubs, and

inflaming the multitude. Some one remarked, that he was ill fitted to sit among honourable men, if he were the same individual that was alleged to have been expelled, for disgraceful reasons, from the armed police-force, and that was loaded with the infamy of the exceptional commissions. But when the man had stammered out some excuses, and Galletti had acquitted him of the first imputation, the discussion ended. Tronchet however did not enter the House again, and, a few days later, he resigned his seat. Galletti was chosen President at that second sitting of the Assembly: and he accepted, with the declaration, "that its sittings were rightful, and that it felt itself the sole sovereign power to decide on the destinies of its country." There was nothing else said worthy of mention, except that Audinot demanded of the Government such papers as would afford materials for judging of their diplomatic transactions, of the intentions of the European Governments, and of the condition of the country. On the next day, Canino, after having lauded the Provisional Government for addressing itself to the convocation of the Constituent, censured it sharply for the appointment of exceptional commissions, for the armfuls of laws it had extemporised, and for its mismanagement of the finances and the army. When Armellini and Sterbini had been heard in answer, Audinot afresh invited the Assembly to examine the papers which the Minister of Foreign Affairs was to produce: and although some persons would brook no delay, yet, on Muzzarelli's declaring that the Roman Government had no official correspond-

ence with any other, all agreed upon withdrawing to peruse these papers in private. During this interval, Castellani, the Envoy of Venice, who was attending the sitting in the gallery assigned to the diplomatists, received from Gaeta a letter of this tenour. "The Tuscan Minister went in to the Pope, just as Esterhazy, the Minister of Austria, was coming out. The Pope told the former, that the latter had assured him of the consent of France to the armed intervention. Half an hour later, the Cardinals met in consistory: and on the same day Monsignor Bedini, deputy to Cardinal Antonelli, set out for Paris under the name of Cavaliere Spadoni, accompanied, it is said, by Esterhazy's Secretary." The news thus received by Castellani was almost entirely correct, and he, fearing some precipitate determination, went to find Borgatti, who was deputy to Muzzarelli, and read him the letter. But Borgatti related to him that, when the members of the Assembly had read what Gioberti had written to Muzzarelli, so far were they from listening to prudent counsels, that they had given the reins to passion, and were ready to plunge unaided into the angry sea, to burn their ships, and commit themselves to God and the people. So that, as Borgatti said, upon witnessing this frenzy, he had withdrawn from among the papers that note from Muzzarelli to Berghini, of which I have given a copy *, in fear lest the tempest of rage, which had burst in reproaches on the head of Gioberti, might recoil on the Government of Rome. "What would you have?" said Borgatti in great

* Suprà, p. 148.

excitement; "if we give them this news from Gaeta, there will be mischief: while I was reading Gioberti's dispatch just now, they shook their fists in my face. Any reasonable proposal is out of the question." Meantime Sterbini came out. Castellani went to meet him, and gave him the news he had received. "And do you believe it?" he asked with a leer. Then, when the other had answered "yes," he rejoined grinning, "I admire your credulity," and turned his back. The representatives now came out, most of them in great excitement, and resumed the debate. The first to speak was one Savini of Bologna, a sorry playwright and literary trifler, a man wholly without weight in his native district. He delivered a short declamation, applauded in its course and at the end, in the following strain. "Let us in God's name, as representatives of a Christian people, and with the Gospel in our hands, pronounce once for all, that the Popes shall not sit in the seat of Kings, that their dominion is not of this world." After him Mamiani took up the discussion. Studious to find access to the sympathies of his audience, he set forth that in Rome, on a careful consideration, two modes of government, and two only, would appear to be possible; that of the Popes, and that of Cola da Rienzo. His opinion had ever been that, unless the chief part of the Pope's temporal power were devolved on Ministers and on a Parliament, it would continue to be, as it had too often been, a scourge to Religion and to Italy; "Republic" was a noble word, and republican government the best, where there is adequate virtue in the people:

but their present business was not to expatiate on generalities or speculate in abstractions, it was to descend to particulars, and to look at facts. When, at the opening of the century, the French had founded the Republic, they were 300,000 soldiers strong: now, said Mamiani, we have neither arms nor money: in France, at that time, the masses had risen to beat down the remains of the feudal institutions, and to better the social economy: here no honourable or early gains could be promised, with honesty, to the people, as an incentive to a desperate struggle. The republican flag would not work the miracles that were anticipated: Tuscany might perhaps singly imitate the example of Rome: but it would be more easy there to get rid of the old Government, than to consolidate the new: even in Tuscany, civil strife was likely: on the most favourable supposition, no aid in men or money could be hoped from her. They should reflect, if the hopes of the Young Republic rested on the north of Italy, that in Piedmont the House of Savoy and the royalists were strong; they might with difficulty just succeed in disturbing that part of Italy under the very eye of the stranger, who would turn our squabbles to his own account, but never in subduing it for the Republic. What was to be hoped from France? The revolution was on the wane there just as elsewhere. Since, then, in Rome they could have no other Government than either the Pope's, or a Republic, and since the latter entailed certain jeopardy and mischief, it would be right, so Mamiani intimated, not to trespass upon the sove-

reignty of the Pontiff, but yet, unquestionably, to refer the decision on the readjustment of the Constitution to the Federative Italian Constituent when assembled.

Masi then mounted the Tribune, charged with democratic heat. He was Canino's secretary and confidant, a youth with a fancy apt at versifying extempore; and he inverted the dilemma of the Pope or Cola da Rienzo, stated by Mamiani. He enlarged its scope, and said that, as the Popes were the scourge of Italy, they ought not any longer to wield temporal power: again, that as the Popes were not to reign, and there was no dynasty of kings in Rome, nothing but a republic could take root there. The fortunes of democracy he said were certain: the Italian Constituent could have no better right than the Roman to settle the constitution: they ought to seize the occasion God had sent them, and to establish a democratic government. Mamiani's reasonings remained untouched, I mean the only reasonings really good and solid, such as the unfitness of our habits for republicanism, the instability of a raw constitution, the dangers of Italy, the decline of the popular cause throughout Europe. But Masi drew louder applause by his declamation, than Mamiani by his arguments. Loud plaudits, too, fell to Filopanti of Bologna, a mathematical professor famous for his crotchets. He said, that the fortunes not merely of three, but of twenty-four millions of Italians hung on the decision of the Assembly; that these fortunes must be entrusted to "audacity," which this dwarfed ape of Danton thrice over invoked; then he moved for a bill

to declare the Popedom deposed from its temporal power; the guarantees necessary for the free exercise of the spiritual power they would give to the Pontiff, in concert with the other Catholic Powers: the form of the new Government was to be pure democracy, and the name "the Republic of Rome;" it would have for its direct purpose the moral and economical improvement of all classes of society; upon its relations with the other Italian States, the Constituent for Italy would supremely arbitrate. He then went on to enlarge upon the heads of the bill he was introducing. Jesus Christ had desired Peter to feed his sheep, and the Church of early times had obeyed the commandment, but had afterwards been contaminated by temporal domination; if the Pope sought to be independent, he should be neither sovereign nor subject; when the theocracy was overthrown, sovereignty returned to the people its fountainhead; the Republic alone would put the sovereignty into practice; the Republic would give a model, and an impulse, to Italy at large.

Cesare Agostini, who followed in debate, was a studious youth from Foligno, who edited the *Contemporaneo* newspaper. A few months back he had been anxious for a public appointment humble enough, but his ambition subsequently soared as the times darkened, and as Sterbini, who had named him deputy in his own department, rose. He, like others, undertook to criticise the speech of Mamiani, and was perhaps more happy in his efforts to dispose of it. If Rome, he said, had not the 300,000 soldiers of the first French

Republic, neither were the absolute monarchs of Europe so strong as half a century ago, while democracy was vigorous everywhere: if the other Italian States could not, or would not, follow the example of Rome, neither were they in a condition to attack or encounter her; should any danger impend, a word would bring the French Republic to the rescue. Carlo Rusconi of Bologna followed, on the republican side. He was a votary of Italian literature but of small mark: a journalist and writer of romance, as mild in temper as he was occasionally extravagant in his notions. The aim of his speech was to show that, if we trace the history of the Popes, it must be plain that their temporal power is incompatible with the welfare of their subjects, and with nationality; while the reference of so grave a question to the Italian Constituent must beget in the meantime an uncertainty highly detrimental. Sterbini, who seemed not yet to have made up his mind, then moved that the debate be adjourned, and resumed on the following day. After some discussion, it was determined to renew it the same evening.

At eight o'clock the Assembly was re-opened to the public, and the first speaker was Rodolfo Audinot, who after giving his interpretation of the sovereignty of the people, and pointing out the mischiefs and disorders of a theocratic government, sought to gain time, and to give the go-by to the difficulty, by recommending that they should declare any form of government out of the question, except such as should found its own authority on the basis of the sovereignty of

the people. He showed how dangerous it would be to follow any other course, and with much justice he enlarged in argument to prove that the question of the Popedom was neither Roman nor Italian, but interested the whole of Catholic Europe, whose armies they were in danger of bringing down upon them. He referred to the discord which a Republic would probably harbinger: and ended by moving, that the assembly should create a temporary Executive organ, should convoke the Constituent for Italy, and should place in its hands the decision on the form of government. After Audinot, Sterbini read his speech: he abused the Popes and the Bourbon of Naples, with plenty of big words about democracy and the power of the multitude; but when he drew near a close he hesitated, and proposed nothing. Then a certain Sisto Vinciguerra, a club-orator, lifted his stentorian voice, and repeated the repetitions of others: that Italy had ever been afflicted and lacerated by the Popes, that they had ever called in the stranger and been the worse for it, that the time was come to put a full end to their domination, to pursue a resolute course, to get out of their uncertainty: if risk there were in deciding against the Popes, the Constituent for Italy, to which some desired to make over the decision, would have that same risk to encounter. When Vinciguerra had done, Gabussi of Bologna took his turn. He was at one time a State prisoner, and was but little esteemed by his companions in misfortune, just as he had been previously in his native city, and as he was afterwards during his exile, and after

his return. When reform was in vogue, he wrote for the *Bilancia* newspaper, and was long an applicant to the Pope for office. He became Director of Police at Pesaro, and was turned out because of his bad name and bad example. He again importuned ministers, cardinals, and Pope, to be replaced. At last he determined on going all lengths, devoted himself to the agitators and the Clubs, and strove to win their favour by the violence of his language and his counsels. He, too, tried to confute Mamiani. He said there was no danger in proclaiming the Republic, nor any formidable opponents at home; nor were the Italian Kings powerful, though certainly they were hostile. Naples was not in a condition to take up arms against Rome; the war of Sicily, the murmurs of the capital, the menacing attitude of the Abbruzzi and the Calabrias, would prevent it. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had more need of their indulgence, than vigour for war. The King of Sardinia was undoubtedly adverse, nor could they rely on him, but his army was not so firm in its allegiance to the throne, as to admit of being pushed against the Romans, while Genoa was the most liberal and democratic of Italian cities; Austria was falling to pieces; and France was ready to assist them. He concluded in favour of pronouncing at once the deposition of the Pope, and of proclaiming the Republic. The Prince of Canino, anxious to prove the impossibility of reconciling the Popedom with Italian freedom, recited the fruitless efforts which, as Minister of Pius IX., Mamiani had made for that purpose: he

denied that the Italian Constituent would be competent to reimpose the yoke of the Popes on the neck of the Romans; his fancy carried him as far as the Empire of Japan; he compared the dispatch of Gioberti to the famous Brunswick proclamation, and here, raising his voice, he ended with these words: "Do you not then feel this consecrated soil vibrate beneath your feet? It is the spirits of your ancestors, boiling with impatience, and shouting in your ears 'The Roman Republic for ever!'" This shout of his was clamorously taken up by the public in the gallery.

After this, a member called for a division on the motion of Filopanti; but Mamiani rose to demand that the vote might be taken on his, which was in the following terms:—

"The National Assembly declares, that it refers to the Constituent for Italy the choice of a political organization for the Roman States."

In support of this motion, an argument was begun by Cesari da Osimo, Municipal Secretary in his own country, where he was universally esteemed and beloved. He had to speak amidst the uproar of the public galleries and interruptions from those who did not choose to endure patiently any further delay; but he did not allow himself to lose heart, and he gave solid reasons to show the certain danger of such courses as had been urged; that they would beget an increase of dissension in Italy, and serious detriment to her independence, the first and greatest of goods; the evils were sure and close at hand; the hopes of universal revolution vague, nor could persons of pru-

dence stake upon them the destinies of a people and a nation. The speech of Cesari concluded the debate. Monghini of Ravenna, a young banker, who had gained popularity as a liberal since he had taken to speechifying at the clubs, cried out: "either the Pope, or the Provisional Government, or the Republic. Of the first I should blush to speak; the second would only be a protracted agony; accordingly there is nothing left but the Republic." This was certainly a short cut. The common herd of auditors applauded such eloquence furiously. Sterbini saw which way the wind of popular favour blew; and, fearing to lose his influence if he did not improve upon the faltering language he had previously uttered, he nimbly wheeled about, and launched into this strange language: "I propose that, the moment we have voted on the form of government, we decide upon the solemn proclamation of the Republic to-morrow; to-morrow, from the great balcony of the Capitol." Thus he became the first to give his voice for the Republic; and knowing the humour of his flock, he pleased them with the promise of a spectacle. He then began a disquisition about the motion introduced by Mamiani and improved upon by Audinot, for declaring, as the latter had put it in his speech, that no government was possible, except one which should recognise the sovereignty of the nation. Saffi, of Forlì, then said a few words: a young man endowed with high gifts of disposition and of intellect, known, up to that time, for his moderate opinions, and generally eulogised and esteemed. He said, the question of the Pope's deposition seemed

to him to be already resolved, *ipso facto*, by the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. By this he meant to imply that the proposals of Mamiani and Audinot were mere surplusage. But President Galletti remarked that the vote ought to be taken on them all; and he put the question on that of Mamiani. While some of the members were rising in the affirmative, roars of disapprobation issued from the public galleries, to such a degree that Canino appealed to the authority of the President, who admonished the disorderly in a few milk-and-water words. But De Rossi, formerly minister to Pius IX., boldly said, that if every one were not allowed to express his own opinions freely, he would that instant leave the Assembly: and Ercolani of Bologna, whom I have already had occasion to name with honour, cried, in spite of the yells, that, being convinced of the evils threatened by a Republic, he at that very moment gave his voice audibly against it. This declaration was adopted by Cristofori, also a Bolognese, of steadfast liberal opinions and of noted honesty; and by Tranquilli of Ascoli, an honourable and staid person. When Mamiani's motion had been lost, Armellini tried to prevent that of Audinot from being put to the vote; but, as his reasons were not good, it was put notwithstanding, and twenty-seven members voted in its favour. Then came in turn Filopanti's motion; and, after a brief conversation on its various heads, and calling the names of the 142 members present, the vote was taken aloud by Ayes and Noes. The Noes were ten. Twelve declined voting. All the

members of the Provisional Government voted Aye, and Monsignor Muzzarelli amidst loud applause. President Galletti then said he had to announce, in the name of the Assembly, a Decree which (such were his words) "fixes a great epoch, establishes a right of the people, establishes the principle so long coveted in Italy, but never before the present moment embodied in a public act:" and he went on to read—

"Art. I. The Popedom is deposed, *de facto* and *de jure*, from the temporal government of the Roman State.

"Art. II. The Roman Pontiff shall enjoy all the guarantees necessary for his independence in the exercise of his spiritual power.

"Art. III. The form of Government for the Roman State shall be a pure democracy, and it shall assume the glorious appellation of the Republic of Rome.

"Art. IV. The Republic of Rome shall bear towards the rest of Italy the relations demanded by the common nationality."

The whole audience huzzaed for the Republic; and the sitting closed at two in the morning of the ninth.

Next day, the Deputies ascended to the Capitol in great pomp; and there President Galletti proclaimed anew the Republic. I need not describe the spectacle: the account, that History has to render, is too serious; and the mind, too intent upon other thoughts, cannot stoop to blow bubbles with the mob, who, drunk with fumes of freedom, can caper on the very brink of servitude, and who put up hymns of joy and glory to God, at a moment when His Almightiness is preparing obsequies for distracted Italy.

BOOK V.

FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE LANDING OF THE FRENCH FORCES AT CIVITA VECCHIA.

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. — NEW MINISTERS. — REMARKS ON EACH. — AND ON THE POLITICAL JUNCTURE. — CONCILIATORY AND TOLERANT PROGRAMME. — SYMPTOMS OF INTOLERANCE. — THE JOURNALS. — NOTICE OF EVENTS IN TUSCANY: SIENA. — GLOOM AND SCRUPULOSITY OF THE GRAND DUKE. — REPORTS ABOUT HIS INWARD IDEAS AND FEELINGS. — ASKS COUNSEL OF THE HOLY FATHER. — HIS DEPARTURE UNDERHAND FROM SIENA. — HIS LETTERS TO MONTANELLI. — THE CONSTITUTION SUBVERTED IN FLORENCE. — THE GRAND DUKE AT SANTO STEFANO. — THE ITALIAN AND FOREIGN ENVOYS AT S. STEFANO. — THEIR AUDIENCE OF THE GRAND DUKE. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT AT FLORENCE. — DISTURBANCES. — ENTERPRISE OF GENERAL LAUGIER. — COMMOTIONS; GUERRAZZI THE AGITATOR IN CHIEF. — TEXT OF A LETTER FROM HIM TO BERGHINI. — ALTERED INTENTIONS OF THE GRAND DUKE. — BARGAGLI AND SAINT-MARC AT S. STEFANO. — LETTERS AND INFORMATION FROM GAETA. — CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE GRAND DUKE AND THE ENVOYS. — HE LEAVES S. STEFANO FOR GAETA. — TROUBLES OF THE CITY OF FERRARA. — FORAY OF HAYNAU; RIGOUR OF HIS CONDITIONS.

THE Assembly, so soon as it had proclaimed the Republic, resolved to govern through the medium of an Executive Committee, to be composed of three persons, Italians, responsible, and removable (such

are the written terms) at its pleasure: and it appointed Armellini and Montecchi, Romans, with Saliceti, a Neapolitan. Montecchi did not gain this elevation through his talents, or acquirements, or peculiar courage; but by his reputation as an honest man, by the incarceration which he had undergone in the reign of Gregory, and by the favour of the Republican party, with whose managers and leaders, when bearing arms in Venetia, he had closely allied himself. Saliceti, a Neapolitan exile, had a character for strict morality, and many virtues both of intellect and disposition; nor did his fame for probity really exceed the truth, but he had neither great powers nor extensive knowledge, nor were his liberal opinions disciplined by the philosophy of politics.

They maintained in office a Ministers, Muzzarelli for Public Instruction, Sterbini for Public Works and Commerce, and Campello for War; while they nominated for Foreign Affairs Carlo Rusconi of Bologna, for the Interior Aurelio Saffi, for Justice Giovita Lazzarini, the two last from Forlì; and for Finance Ignazio Guiccioli of Ravenna. Carlo Rusconi, whom I have already mentioned, had a good name among the republicans, although without experience in public affairs. Lazzarini, a youth endowed with fine gifts both of mind and heart, was a friend of Saffi, who has likewise been named in these pages. Guiccioli had an ample fortune, a lively imagination, a love of show, and opinions sometimes moderate, sometimes not. Excepting Sterbini, the members of the Government were favourably received by the public at large, because if

not capable of giving stability and order to the State, still they were considered to be no friends to silly or criminal courses, and to be more anxious for a share of glory, than for mere lawless power. Still, as they were not really sovereigns and directors of the State, but servants of the Sovereign Assembly, it is manifest that the Assembly alone had a paramount and effective controul, or rather a despotic supremacy. And inasmuch as despotic supremacy mars the abstract and universal right of freedom no more, when it is vested in an individual, than when exercised by those whom the multitude have chosen, it must be clear to all who penetrate into the *rationale* of government that, under the name of liberty, the State was or might be subject to despotic sway. Suppose, indeed, that the suffrages of the people were reckoned with the utmost precision attainable to man, and that every suffrage simply expressed the free volition of the voter; still it is evident, that the collective power and will, resulting from this computation, are of no other force or meaning than the power and will of numbers, that is of strength, that is to say, a morally and intellectually idealised absolutism. This, however, is not only anti-liberal, but radically unjust, for the very reason that all power is unjust and illegitimate, which in the abstract impairs and infringes the absolute and indefeasible right to freedom. Absolute sovereignty, whether of people or of kings, is the sovereignty of numbers or force: they are terms co-extensive; they are dogmas of tyranny, condemned by God, because there is no other right Divine but that of Justice, the code of which is

stamped by God in our immortal souls. When a State founds itself on those dogmas, after its old institutions have fallen by popular violence or the craft of faction, undoubtedly the deputies of what they term the Sovereign People cannot gather up and concentrate that sovereignty in their own persons, but are delegates or commissaries of the Sovereign, in whom absolute discretion and the supreme authority of force reside. Hence it happens that the popular *veto*, or in other words, the sovereignty of thews and sinews, constantly overhangs Assemblies composed according to the multiplication-table: so merely mechanical does all that system turn out to be, which many take for freedom elaborated to perfection. And the nearer any State thus algebraically constructed may be to its point of departure, the weaker it is; because the Sovereign People, which won the day, and got the honours of the ovation and every body's homage, continues in the conscious pride of power, which it feels that it never has alienated, because they have declared its prerogatives inalienable; and occasionally threatens or attempts to whip its servants, as for example the Sovereign People of Paris tried in May and June, 1848. Nay more, as far as the scrap-logic of the sovereignty of the people, the algebra of multitude, the dynamics of brute force will go, they are in the right; and the delegates, who curb them with the strong hand, are subjects who put their Sovereign in chains. I really pity those, who, while extolling the suffrage of the many, direct and universal, dream that they are the partisans of pure freedom; they are but absolutists,

and partisans of force. Now, the Roman Assembly took its origin not so much from the free voice of the people at large, as from the got-up lists of the Clubs; and accordingly did not give its attention to making the community contented, and the Constitution which it was inaugurating permanent, so much as to the gratification of those who had taken to themselves the name and prerogatives of the Sovereign People; that is, of a political faction, of the clubs, and the ringleaders of sects, and of the scatter-brained set that always carol in the wake of those who move on the fastest; so that the Roman Assembly was doomed from birth to follow, whether with a good or an ill grace, the lead of a few meddlers; and thus accordingly it did, almost invariably.

The Executive Committee and the Ministers issued a programme, in which, amidst a haze of sentiment, were mingled words of conciliation, harmony, and tolerance. But at one moment a certain Sabbatini, a notary of Ancona, and then Filopanti of Bologna, rose in the Assembly, at the instance of the agitators, to blast, by means of crafty or frivolous questionings, those members who had voted against a Republic; at another, some Deputy would put on the notorious Phrygian cap, which, unless it were a carnival freak, was assuredly no symptom of tolerance; at another, some democratic master-of-the-ceremonies would ostentatiously deposit that symbol on the top of the Cross which crowns the obelisk in the *Piazza del Popolo*, amidst the acclamations of Sterbini's mob of workmen. One day, the livery servants on the car-

riages in the Corso were insulted and struck; the Constitutionalists were watched by the bull-dogs of the police, threatened or jeered by the refuse of the sects. These tokens we had, and more, of exclusiveness and plebeian despotism. In fact, there lay in the origin and nature of the Government itself, as well as in the spirit of some whom the Government could not controul, the germs of all manner of excess.

I need not dwell on the journals; the *Contemporaneo* had followed Sterbini in all his blundering and all his frenzy; the *Don Pirlone* abjured respect alike for sacred things and persons; the *Tribuno*, a newspaper born but a while ago, and then, after a brief career of foolery extinct, conveyed the opinions of De-Boni, of Dell'Ongaro, and others of that fry, who went about Italy fishing in her troubled waters; the *Speranza* and the *Epoca*, after cutting capers round every possible idol, were starved out; the *Costituzionale Romano* was in a perpetual pucker between the Republic which it hated, the Constitution which it misliked, Gaeta which subsidised it, and terror which kept it in order. It was in vain to search for either language or action confined within the bounds of moderation and political good-breeding, if one looked to those who, habitual troublers of the city, had now put it under the yoke of republican caprice; nor, in contemplating the city itself, could one discover, amidst the jingle of the republican gala, that tranquil gladness which minds fraught with contentment and security diffuse. Nor do I enlarge in relating the pranks of the few and the

phlegm of the many, the carols, the illuminations, the religious function celebrated, despite of the clergy, in St. Peter's; or in drawing the picture of the capital and the provinces in republican costume. I pass by, too, the recollection of the disorders, which, amid so much moral and social disorganisation, and the headlong rush of passion, might well have been greater than in fact they were; and I leave to oblivion the absurdities committed, as being more worthy of commiseration than of chastisement. I hasten to more serious matter.

The very same days which gave birth to the Republic of Rome, witnessed the downfall of the feeble throne of Tuscany. The Grand Duke Leopold had not only given himself over to patronising the democratic Ministry, but had consented to the Constituent for Italy, and, if the reports in circulation be correct, had said he would willingly lose his crown, so that only Tuscany might be happy. By slow degrees, he had got upon easy terms with Guerrazzi, who, if witnesses may be believed, used to promise him a crown, both richer and more durable. This same Grand Duke, after the events of Rome and the departure of the Pontiff, had got the spleen, and gave signs of uncertainty and irresolution beyond his wont. Some time before, he had carried his family to Siena, a city which not only seemed set upon keeping its allegiance to Monarchy, but also peculiarly attached and devoted to the Sovereign and his family; so much so, indeed, that the agitators made no way there, and, on occasions when they endeavoured to

disturb the public festivities, and to encounter the Hosannas to the Prince with cries for the Constituent, they came off second best; while the town gained honour from the one side, and abuse from the other, for its fidelity to the throne and its Anti-liberal temper. When the Pope had cited the Councils in condemnation of the Roman Constituent, the Grand Duke's mind contracted a dread of ecclesiastical censures, on account of the Constituent for Italy, for which he had been made to play sponsor and decoy-duck. This scruple stirred up other scruples in his thoughts, or caused him anxious reflection, as well, perhaps, for the security of his crown, as for his soul's salvation. There are those who aver, that he at no time was so attempered to free institutions as to dismiss the hankerings, or the hobgoblins, of the absolute, or, as it is called, the paternal system. There are those who aver that, even when he slackened the restrictions upon liberty, because the Pope's example had set all Italy agog, he wrote to the Archduke Ranieri, Viceroy of Milan, and others of his relatives, making both a grievance and a jest of the Liberals, who were over the moon. Some one testifies that, at the period when, with his slender forces, he joined in the war of independence, he was on good terms with his royal and imperial connections, with whom he had not dropped his usual intercourse. Hence many have since argued, from the events that ensued, and from those in process of gradual development in Tuscany, that Leopold II. was not simply at all times oscillating between opposite parties and

counsels, but rather was at all times steady in his devotion to Austria, and adverse to the Liberal innovations. Upon this point I have no judgment to pronounce, because I have not materials to found one on such a basis as should satisfy conscience; nor, on the other hand, is it my business to penetrate into Tuscan affairs, further than may be requisite in order to trace and elucidate their relations with those of Rome. And as prudence, or, I should rather say, honesty, binds me to remain in suspense, I had rather, I confess, lean to a favourable judgment of a Sovereign who, at any rate, showed himself to be adorned with sterling qualities, clement in temper, a patron of learning, and a reformer of abuses, when other Italian Princes were earning a worse fame by worse examples. Without further inquiry, then, I return to the point when Leopold, having had recourse to Gaeta for counsel, obtained from thence spiritual instigation, and temporal advice, to quit the onward path he was treading, and to slip out of the leading-strings of Montanelli and Guerrazzi. Having repaired to Siena, he gave out he was in weak health, and strove to divert from himself the suspicions that were spreading abroad of his dissatisfaction, and of his indisposition to proceed any longer according to the bent of his democratic ministers. Montanelli had an audience, and transacted public business with him on the 7th of February, without his indicating mental uneasiness. It is said that the Duke took leave of him with unwonted kindness; but a little after he went out with his family, as if for recreation, and followed

the road of the Maremma. He left two letters for Montanelli himself, in one of which he recommended his attendants to that minister, and declared he would not remove from Tuscany, while in the other he detailed the grounds of his resolution, and begged they might be published. He stated that, from his desire to avert serious disturbances, he had, on the 22nd of January, agreed that the Bill for the election of Tuscan representatives to the Constituent for Italy should be brought under discussion in the Legislative Assemblies, but had had misgivings, lest the censure fulminated by His Holiness against the Constituent for Rome might reach him; that he had mentioned these misgivings to one or more ministers, and had reserved to himself the right of taking the safe course when the Bill should have been adopted in Parliament. When the unlimited powers were agreed on, of which, in the original scheme, there was not a syllable, he had felt yet more strongly his doubt, and his dread of the spiritual danger, and had referred for advice to the Pontiff, who had replied, that the censure did hang over his head, and over Tuscany. He felt himself prepared, he said, to bear the loss of his Crown, but he had no strength for such a calamity; his conscience was immovable in matter of religion; accordingly he could not pass the Bill. Florence possibly would not be a safe abode; Siena, he feared, might be molested by civil broils: he would go off, commending Tuscany to the Lord God, and to the good sense and conscientiousness of his people.

When Montanelli had brought to Florence the news

of the Sovereign's flight, the whole city stood aghast; the Ministers held council, first alone in the palàce, then with the agitators in the Clubs: these last were resolved to subvert the Constitution, as were Guerrazzi and Montanelli themselves to govern, but in the name of the people. Both the one and the other had now for some time been rivalled in ambition, and overtopped in aims, by those who could not rest till the experiment of a Republic should have been tried. There are written assertions that Mordini, Vice-president of the Club of the People, had for some time been sending to other Clubs the information that attempts would shortly be made; and one Niccolini, or Nocciolini, whichever it were (for his name was doubtful, though his ill name was not), as well as one Montazio, a base-born* scribbler of wickedness that deserved the pillory, with others more obscure, and not less degraded, made so much noise, that Guerrazzi could not face them. At this time the departure of the Sovereign, the revolutions of the Clubs, the approval or connivance of those in power, and a couple of score crowns from the Treasury, drew every man of them into the streets. They planted their stage beneath the Orgagna balcony, shouted for a Provisional Government, and then marched to the Legislative Assembly, where the scoundrel Niccolini dictated the law in the name of cultivated Tuscany. Guerrazzi and Montanelli, with Mazzoni, who had before been Minister of Grace and Justice, were appointed triumvirs. The agitators wanted a Republic,

* Progenie di birri. — TR.

which was shouted for here and there, but repudiated by the Government. In the meantime, trees of liberty were planted everywhere, for there can be no liberty in Italy, if we believe these men, unless all the tom-fooleries of France are imported among us. But it is no business of mine to give a detailed account of the Tuscan disorders. My narrative, however, requires me to follow the Grand Duke, who had betaken himself to Santo Stefano, a petty fishing village in the Maremma, situated on a small peninsula which communicates with the mainland, on the side of Orbetello, by a double isthmus.

As soon as the Italian and foreign Ministers learned that the Sovereign had not quitted Tuscany, the Marquis of Villamarina, Sardinian Envoy, who had received assurances from Gioberti that Piedmont would not suffer constitutional Monarchy to perish in Italy, with orders to follow the Grand Duke if still in Tuscany, and to offer him a refuge, proposed to his colleagues that they should at once repair to Santo Stefano. To this they all readily agreed, except Champy, the French Envoy, who disapproved of the suggestion, and reluctantly followed the example. They set out, however, and reached S. Stefano on the 17th, where they found the Thetis, an English frigate, and the Bulldog, a steamer, on guard. At the Grand Duke's desire they waited on him forthwith. He received them with much courtesy and regard, related the particulars of his journey, gave the reasons of his determination, and went on to say that King Charles Albert had offered him assistance

to replace him on his constitutional Throne, and that he had accepted this generous proposal by an immediate reply in the affirmative.[ss] The Envoy of Sardinia then, according to his instructions, tendered him a shelter in the Piedmontese territory. The Grand Duke replied it was his fixed conviction that he ought not to leave S. Stefano, except under the last necessity, but that, should things come to the worst, he would go nowhere but to Gaeta, or to La Spezia. And since all the foreign ministers were of opinion that he ought not to quit Tuscany so long as he could be safe in any portion of it, he stated further, that should he be compelled to leave S. Stefano, he thought of repairing either to Viareggio or to Massa, that he might be in the midst of Tuscan, and in the vicinity of Piedmontese, troops.

The Tuscan Triumvirs had dissolved the Parliament, and had summoned a general Assembly, chosen by direct and universal suffrage, for the 14th of March. Their government was very speedily molested by something of danger, and more of dread; for no sooner were the Tuscan population aware of the reasons of the Sovereign's departure from Siena, than, both at Siena itself, and in the smaller cities and places, as well as in the rural districts about Florence, there were demonstrations of resentment, and some efforts to reinstate the royal authority. Thereupon the alarm bells rang in Florence, and forces were dispatched to put down the movement of the country folks, who were huzzaing for Leopold II., under the

idea he had returned, of which there was a rumour. Some persons were then arrested; among them Stuart an Englishman, and Ricciardi a Neapolitan, who were deemed to be instigators or accomplices in those demonstrations. At the same time, Guerrazzi sent orders to the Isle of Elba to repel the Grand Duke if he should put in there; and the steamer Giglio, manned at Leghorn, made sail thence to chase him. He had, however, from S. Stefano, ordered General Laugier, commandant of the Tuscan forces, who continued in his allegiance to the Throne, to use force, and had apprised him that he had sent for Piedmontese succours. The General marched from the Sardinian and Modenese frontier, where he was encamped, and, giving out that those succours were at hand, he moved on Pietra Santa and on Viareggio towards Lucca, whence he entered into correspondence and arrangements with the Constitutionalists, about attempting a restoration.

On the news of the march and the announcements of Laugier, and of the Piedmontese intervention, the agitators in the various Tuscan cities broke all bounds; and Guerrazzi, gathering as many people as he could, started, in the double capacity of Commissioner and General, towards Lucca, inflaming the public mind for civil war. At Lucca was the Deputy Berghini, whom I have already had occasion to mention. Guerrazzi sent for him, complained of the hostile designs of Piedmont, justified the proceedings of the Tuscan Government, and begged him to write to Turin, and strive by some means to avert the danger and mis-

chief of a bloody struggle between Italians. He left with him the subjoined written declaration: —

"Berghini,

"You are my friend, and yet more the friend of your country: I therefore tell you the following truths:

"That the Constituent for Italy was freely approved by the Grand Duke, under the advice of the British Minister.

"That he left Florence with constant promises of a prompt return.

"That as he put off returning, and we thereupon sent him our resignations, he answered we were to keep our offices, and he would come back at the earliest moment.

"That, after a sham illness, he absconded without naming the place where he meant to hide.

"That the Ministry, taking into view on the one hand the breach of the constitutional compact, on the other the impossibility of carrying on the Government, resigned, as in duty bound, its powers to the Assembly.

"That the Assembly and the People appointed the Provisional Government with a view to securing the public peace and order. The allegation of certain Deputies, that they voted under coercion, is a falsehood.

"1. Because necessity drove them to elect a Provisional Government.

"2. Because they had determined on this step in the Hall of conferences, before the public sitting began, and before the people broke into the semicircle of the Hall.

"3. Because though a portion of the Deputies withdrew, yet on my eager remonstrance, when the people had been put out they returned, under constraint from no one, together with the President, and after discussion they voted unanimously.

"As it was impossible for the Government to proceed with Chambers chosen under an elective law admitted to be faulty, on this account they have summoned new ones on the basis of universal suffrage. The new Chambers are convoked

for the 15th of March; no earlier day could be named. The people broke in, and would have the Republic. The Government with all its energies refused to take the initiative in declaring a Republic, or a fusion with Rome. Their view was, that the entire country should decide its own destinies by its legitimate representatives, and on full consideration. If driven by force from this position, which seems to them, and which is, thoroughly legal, they will first defend themselves against unjust attack, and will secondly, while retiring, leave to whom it may concern the entire odium of having fostered a civil war in Italy when the German, her common foe, was invading her.

"GUERRAZZI.

"Lucca, February 21. 1849."

These declarations of Guerrazzi agreed with such as the Provisional Government had already made public, nor could they possibly avail to alter the resolution of the Government of Piedmont. But during the interval, when the Tuscan Constitutionalists were running serious risks in their effort to second the enterprise of Laugier, the views of the Court of S. Stefano veered about. Bargagli, the Minister to the Holy See, and a Frenchman named Saint Marc, a jobber for the Legitimists, had arrived there in a steamer from Gaeta; and were in close colloquy with the Grand Duke and his household for an entire day, while the Envoys were neither taken into council, nor had any inkling of the advices brought by the new comers. They had with them letters from the Holy Father to the Grand Duke, dispatches and counsel from Cardinal Antonelli, the Court of Naples, the Duchesse de Berri, Esterhazy, and the Legitimists,

for him, his wife, his sister, and his Court. Next day, the diplomatic body was convened; and the Grand Duke said he had got a letter from Gaeta (that is, as they afterwards learned, from the Pope), in which it was said that Austria would never allow the intervention of Piedmont in Tuscany, and that the moment her troops crossed the frontier, Marshal Radetzky would move on Turin; that the Pope would soon be restored by the arms of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples; and that Piedmont was under ban, both imperial and sacerdotal. On these accounts, said the Grand Duke, he had been driven to the conviction that it was his duty promptly to warn the King of Sardinia against the perils he was incurring, with the declaration that he did not choose to be chargeable with the calamities that menaced him, and that he accordingly declined the aid he had previously requested, and had sent instructions to General Laugier to refrain, or recede, from the undertaking which had been intrusted to him. The Envoys were astonished and grieved at this address; except, however, Monsignor Mazzoni, the Papal Internuncio, who indicated approval. One of their number, the Swedish Envoy, remarked that the information from Gaeta about the intentions of Austria could not be founded on fact, because they could not, on the 12th, have any intimation at Gaeta of any resolution whatever adopted by Austria at Olmutz respecting a Piedmontese intervention, which had only been requested in a letter of the Grand Duke received at Turin on the 17th. The advices from Gaeta, then,

he subjoined, must really be founded on a wish, possibly on some recommendation sent from thence to Austria, or on simple hypothesis; and accordingly the Grand Duke ought not to build upon them his judgments and determinations; but should reflect, that since Austria had accepted the mediation of France and England at Brussels, it was incredible that Piedmont should have taken in hand a restoration for Tuscany against the sense of France and England, or that they would permit Austria to attack Piedmont on any such ground. He therefore argued, that the Grand Duke ought to write anew to King Charles Albert, by no means to recall the request for aid, but to cancel the letter of recall already sent, and simply to apprise him of the information he had received from Gaeta. Leopold appeared to yield to this reasoning and advice; and having summoned before him the Sardinian Minister, he delivered to him a fresh letter for his King. But after this the pealing of the cannon, fired at Orbetello in honour of the Republic, was heard at S. Stefano, and a report went abroad that the Leghorners were coming, and highly excited. Great was the panic of the Court, although that asylum was secured against all attacks by the English vessels in the harbour. The Grand Duke again convened the Envoys, adverted to the risks he feared, produced a violent letter which the Provisional Government had addressed to the Prefects, and said, that as matters had come to such a pass, his duty was to take care of his own dignity and safety and that of his family, by repairing to His

Holiness at Gaeta. To this they all, except the Papal Internuncio, replied, that the Tuscan Sovereign ought not, except under compulsion, to quit the Tuscan soil; that at S. Stefano he was in no sort of danger; that he should recollect the enterprise of his restoration which was already begun, and his own request for the aid of Piedmont; and should, at any rate, take time to deliberate. He dismissed them with much emotion, both depressed in spirit and apparently wavering. He also invited them to return at eight next morning; and then without more ado he went on board the Bulldog, where he received them the day following at the appointed hour, and took leave of them with many acknowledgments. At half-past three on the same day, the 21st of February, the ship that carried Leopold II. into exile set sail for Gaeta. Thus did the enterprise of Laugier end, by the orders of him who commanded it, before it was well begun, while Guerrazzi, for this reason and through the ill-discipline of the Tuscan troops, gathered with ease the laurels of his victory. Thus, too, did the revolution in Tuscany, and the reaction at Gaeta, play into one another's hands; while the unthinking republicans of Rome kept gala, and dispatched from the Assembly their congratulations to the Tuscan people. The Courts of Gaeta and Naples kept their gala too, and had now, not one only, but two victims of revolution to commend to the mercies of Europe.

While the Assembly at Rome was hailing as a godsend the escape of the Grand Duke, the city of

Ferrara underwent fresh troubles. When, in July, 1848, Prince Lichtenstein made the foray related in this work, he concluded an agreement with Count Lovatelli, under which the Austrian troops had free egress from the fortress to obtain supplies, or to communicate with the military hospital situated in the heart of the city, or with the army beyond the Po. The treaty had been constantly observed without any untoward incident, when, on the 6th of February, a few Austrian officers and men, who had appeared in the *Piazza* of Ferrara, were attacked with contumely and with stones by some of the burghers and the commonalty, and compelled to fly from the place, in which, under the terms of the convention, they were not entitled to set foot. The Austrian commandant made a complaint, and the Provisional Committee, which, after the departure of Lovatelli, administered the Government of Ferrara, had an interview with him, at which it was agreed, that no soldiers should pass out of the fortress except on duty for the commissariat, for inspection of the hospital, or for communications beyond the Po. They were to go forth at certain times, and to traverse the most direct and least frequented streets; while the authorities were to take care that they should neither be obstructed nor reviled. They went out next day, and no disturbance ensued; but the commandant of the battalion that formed the garrison, in lieu of taking the route agreed on, suddenly made his appearance in the *Piazza*, preceded by some soldiers without arms, and followed by others with their pieces, and by the

very officers who, on the day preceding, had been the occasion of the disorder. Hereupon a fresh tumult followed, and the Austrians were obliged to take refuge in the hospital, round which thronged the rioters. In no long time they came to violence and to bloodshed; and when a youth of an opulent and cultivated family had fallen by the hands of the Austrians, the people slew three of their men and wounded others. The citadel then fired its guns, and threw a few rockets into the city, while the people barricaded the streets, raised entrenchments, stopped the dragoons hastening with the news across the Po, and prepared for blows. The hubbub continued, until the authorities, at a fresh meeting with the commandant, agreed anew upon terms for the punctual execution of the agreements of a few days before. Yet the town still continued apprehensive of the vengeance which the Austrians might mean to take; and Carlo Mayer, who had just been elected President, fearing it, as well he might, begged for aid with earnest representations from all the neighbouring cities, and from the Government at Rome, but got none. On the 16th, it was plain that the Austrians from beyond the Po were preparing some infliction for Ferrara: the bridges of boats drawn over to the left bank, the sick carried thither from the hospital, the messengers to the fortress, were clear indications of it. The President sent again for aid to Bologna and Ravenna, but again failed; and perhaps they had it not to give. The arms were scanty and bad; few those who bore them. Colonel

Marescotti, with barely 600 men, proposed to attempt resistance at the frontier; others were for defending the city; but arms, artillery, and time were alike lacking. On the morning of the 18th, General Haynau passed the Po with 6000 foot, a few horse, twenty-two guns, and a battery of Congreve rockets. The town, curbed by the fortress, and seeing that tempest from beyond the Po gather over it, remained orderly and tranquil. They received a proclamation of Haynau's, in which, after complaining of the late occurrences, he intimated that they must deliver up the gates of the city, and that too within a few hours, to his troops, together with those who had slain the Austrian soldiers, or else six hostages chosen from among the most considerable citizens; all barricades and entrenchments were to disappear before sunset; rations were to be got ready for the force, dinner for the officers; the Papal ensigns to be mounted again within twenty-four hours; the city should infallibly be bombarded unless prompt obedience were paid; and, as a penalty for the past, it was to pay within the same time 6000 crowns to Bertuzzi, the Austrian Vice-Consul, who had suffered some contumely, and a fine of 200,000 crowns into the General's hands. A deputation went from the town to Haynau with the Cardinal Archbishop Cadolini at its head, but it obtained no mitigation of these rigorous conditions: it went afresh, accompanied by the English Consul, but gained only a delay of the threatened bombardment for four hours. They had no choice but to give the hostages, supply the provisions, pay the

fines, and replace the Papal ensigns. When the Austrians had entered the city, Mayer, the President, quitted it, leaving behind a formal protest; and transferred the seat of authority to Argenta. The neighbouring Provinces sympathised with the distresses of Ferrara; and the earliest days of the Republic were wrapped in gloom.

CHAP. II.

RESIGNATIONS OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. — CONCISE ACCOUNT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN IT.—AND OF SOME OF THE DISCUSSIONS. — LAW REQUIRING OATH OF ADHESION TO THE REPUBLIC, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. — PROJECT OF SENDING COMMISSIONERS INTO THE PROVINCES. — SECULARISATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY AFFIRMED BY ACCLAMATION. — FINANCE: PAPER MONEY. — BILL CARRIED, ON THE MOTION OF CARPI, RESPECTING THE NATIONAL DEBT. — INCIDENTS ON THE READING OF THE POPE'S PROTEST. — JEER OF CAMPELLO.—LAW FOR THE ISSUE OF NEW BANK NOTES TO BE A LEGAL TENDER. — NOTICES OF THE MANAGERS OF THE BANK: AGOSTINO FEOLI.—SCENE OF AFFECTED COMPULSION.— SPEECHES ON TOPICS OF FINANCE.—THREATENINGS OF CONFISCATION. — COMMISSION OF FINANCE. — DEBATE ON THE FORCED LOAN. — LANGUAGE OF GABUSSI: PROPOSAL OF GAJANI.— SPIRITED LANGUAGE OF AUDINOT. — RAVINGS OF STERBINI. — HE WITH GUICCIOLI DISMISSED. — RULES AND SCHEDULE OF THE FORCED LOAN: RESULTS. — THE WAR-DEPARTMENT, AND ITS PROCEEDINGS.—CORPS OF GARIBALDI. — THE SWISS REGIMENTS. — DEPARTURE OF CAMPELLO FOR BOLOGNA, AND HIS DISMISSAL. — THE POLICE.—THE CARNIVAL.— ASSASSINATIONS IN THE PROVINCES.— ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. — DIPLOMACY: FRESH EFFORTS FOR AN ITALIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

At Rome Mamiani, De Rossi, and Tranquilli had resigned their seats as members of the Constituent Assembly; and the last of these was shortly struck with sudden illness, and died. The rest of those, who had voted against a Republic, rallied round Audinot, who not only meant well, but was steadily resolved to stop as much evil as he could, and not wholly without hope of success. Although such Deputies as

had seated themselves on the right of the Assembly were regarded with suspicion by the triumphant mass on the left, yet, when the time for naming a Vice-President arrived, Audinot had only seven votes less than Canino, who was elected, not because of being in credit and esteem, which he was not even with the Republicans, but because he had given proof of fitness for the office. Many high-minded youths and persons of probity sat in the Parliament, but there were few of them endowed with the qualities requisite for legislators and for rulers of the people. There were a few sorry and disreputable characters, plenty of beardless boys, of enthusiasm, and of infatuation; of civil prudence very little. When the left side was noisy, and the mob from the galleries chimed in, it seemed as if the moderate men feared they might do dishonour to freedom and betray timidity by varying from the ruling opinion; so that oftentimes the whole debate ran in superlatives. The section vulgarly termed the *paunch**, was large, as is common with Assemblies convened at times of revolution; men without character, who do not deliberate, but deliver themselves of a vote at the beck of the daring or the powerful. These automatons might be seen hanging between yes and no, looking to the left, or upwards, to discover which way the vane of popular passion pointed. Their ignoble mass often turned the scale, and well did the managers of the neck-or-nothing policy know it, when they carried the day for open

* We have no fully analogous expression, nor the exact thing which it denotes. The "waiters upon Providence" came nearest it. — TR.

voting, although Audinot and Sturbinetti properly argued for the use of the ballot.

He who wishes to gauge the hot-brained temper of that period, should peruse the speeches delivered at the first sittings. One while it is President Galletti, who proposes a message of congratulation to the subvertors of the Tuscan throne; whereupon the Assembly raises the chant of Italian unity, Canino and Filopanti intoning; a token that the new-born Republic built its calculations on the overthrow of the existing Governments. This was more ingenious than wise. Another time it is Canino who, when the first among the troubles of Ferrara were heard of, cries that the fortress must be taken at all costs, as if that enterprise could be achieved by a wish or by petulance: then Pianciani, after stating the want of arms and money, gives out that they will raise an army by conscription, and funds from the property of the ecclesiastical corporations. Sheer declamation, which did not yield them either a brass farthing or a soldier; while it more and more estranged from the Republic the spirit of the clergy and of the rural population. Mazzini was made a citizen of Rome by acclamation. The laws and public acts were headed "in the name of God and the people," a phrase of the *Giovine Italia*, hateful to all except the partisans of the democratical Republic, one and indivisible. One day they resolved that all soldiers should take an oath, and all public functionaries give an adhesion, as they termed it, to the Republic; and in vain did Ercolani and Audinot argue against it with abundant eloquence and acute-

ness, for this measure, the parent of suspicion, and fuel of discord, was carried by an absolute majority. Only a few days after this decision, Armellini, at a meeting with closed doors, asked for a discretionary power of dispensation; but though there appeared to be a general inclination to comply, yet so great a fuss was thereupon made by those who were counting the very seconds until they could clutch some public office in the scramble, that the authorities were compelled to execute the law strictly. They had named a Commission deputed to receive the representations and try the merits of applicants for office, among whom, if the report that got about be correct, were well nigh sixty representatives. This, at any rate, is too true, that such on the one side were the importunate demands, and on the other the vice of creating interest, or currying favour, that the Commission first complained, and then resigned its charge. The public functionaries, menaced on one side by the law which the Supreme Assembly had enacted, on the other by the frightful pestering of these place-hunters, were sadly worried by their fear of losing the good graces either of the absent Sovereign, from whom they had their appointments, or of the Government in possession, which held the purse-strings. Some sought guidance from Gaeta, some from their confessors, some waited encouragement from the example of their fellows. The greater part complied; among the rare examples of fidelity to the Throne, one or two Constitutionalists were conspicuous.

The Republic had been accepted at Bologna uneasily;

in the cities of Romagna with the half-hearted rejoicings of a few; in the rural districts generally with dislike. The dare-devils of politics looked for enthusiasm at the word of command, and thought they could rouse the spirits and transform the habits of men with a stroke of their not unpaid rhetoric. They proposed accordingly to dispatch commissioners into the Provinces, in imitation of France, to scatter firebrands and create a following. This Audinot resisted; and, aided by the right and centre of the Assembly, he succeeded in averting from the country this peril of increased disorder. Then came the news of the foray of Haynau, and of the hard terms he had imposed with savage wantonness on Ferrara. It was reported at the same moment, that the Neapolitans were a-foot on the borders in a menacing attitude. The Deputies held a secret meeting to discuss plans of resistance; and afterwards, sitting in public, they carried, not deliberatively, but by acclamation, the secularisation of ecclesiastical property, amidst a tempest of applause from the pack of children in the galleries. This they did by proclaiming, as they said, the principle or basis of the project; and so they contrived without any benefit to increase the number and fury of their enemies. But they had a craving to gratify, and they gratified it. A portion of the right demanded that taxes extraordinary should be imposed on lands held in mortmain, and such other expedients devised as might yield early and certain results without violating the rights of property, or incurring an aggravation of odium: but passion was too strong for

prudence, and clamour for argument. Goaded on by that itch, they then uselessly decreed a requisition of church bells to make cannon, which caused much scandal and some disorder.

But I cannot traverse oceans of discourse to keep in the wake of the Assembly; and I shall proceed instead to speak, with all the perspicuity and order that I can, of the finances, the police, the army, and the diplomacy of the Republic: content with passing in review, from time to time, the speeches in Parliament and their speakers, in order, I would almost call it, to examine the temper and test the intellect of the Sovereign of the new State; for such was the Assembly, and an absolute Sovereign to boot.

The condition of the finances was most dismal: old disorders were capped by new, with growing expenses came dwindling receipts, no public credit, no general confidence, empty coffers and clamorous wants. There were in circulation through the Roman States 2,500,000 crowns in Treasury bonds, issued by the Papal Government, firstly under Monsignor Morichini's administration, and afterwards under Prince Simonetti's, with a security on the Church estates, granted by a Brief of the Pope's. Besides these, others were current, to the amount of 600,000 crowns more, voted by the Constitutional Parliament, and issued by the Ministry, of the 16th of November, with a security on the property of the Exchequer. These were the same which the Pope had, from Gaeta, ordered the Commission of the 27th of November to recognise. There were yet 600,000 more, created by

the Provisional Government, and guaranteed by the residue of the value of the Appanage estates. Add that the Province of Bologna had, in the summer of 1848, been obliged to grant provincial bonds for 200,000 crowns, which the Government had adopted and placed to the debit of the State. Thus we had an aggregate of paper money, not exorbitant possibly for quiet times, but exorbitant for times when public credit was universally on the decline. Coin grew scarcer daily, and rose in price relatively to paper money. The bonds issued by the Pope stood highest; the succeeding sets progressively lower. There was a pretty outcry of the thoughtless against money-changers, engrossers, monopoly, and other such bug-bears, fitted by disordered imaginations with ghastly names. Resort, too, was had to a glaring trick, when, to accommodate, forsooth, the lower class, change was given for coin for account of Government, and bonds issued for petty amounts in order to facilitate small dealings. The root of the evil lay in the collapse of public credit, for which no artifice, whether of rigour or of prodigality, could supply a remedy. In order to give confidence, and to lay the foundations of the new polity in probity, Leon Carpi, of Bologna, a most honourable man, had, at one of the first sittings of the Assembly, introduced a measure which, with no opposition but from the Prince of Canino, was passed in the following form: —

"In the Name of God and of the People. The Constituent Assembly, adhering to the soundest principles of morality and of the public interest, decrees

that the Republic of Rome doth recognise the public debt as of national obligation, and inviolable."

But this measure was not enough to restore the credit of the new Government, for the economical maladies, under which it actually laboured, and yet more those still impending, were not so much inherited from others, as contracted by itself. An effort was even made to bolster up the paper money by a legal enactment that all persons might pay their taxes in it; but all expedients were now of little efficacy, and no other aid could be found for the extreme impoverishment of the Treasury than the creation of fresh paper.

Here was matter for most serious reflection; but the minds of some of the Roman legislators were always otherwise occupied. On the 18th of February, interrupting a debate on finance, Andreini, a Deputy for the Province of Bologna, young, but reared in a gloomy fanaticism, first as a functionary of the Gregorian police, afterwards in the sects and in exile, demanded information from the Minister of Foreign Affairs about a fresh Protest which the Pope was said to have published at Gaeta. Rusconi made a show (whether it were a pretence or his real persuasion) of questioning its authenticity. Politi of Recanati would not consent to its being read. Canino, who invariably plucked up his spirits when he got a chance of bringing on the stage any incident that could create uproar, piqued the curiosity of the audience in the galleries, made them noisy, and so got it read. It was a remonstrance addressed by Pius IX. to the Catholic Governments, the nations, and the

world at large, against the Assembly's Decree of the 9th of February. When Rusconi had done reading it, Canino made a sign, and the members as well as the galleries burst into hurrahs for the Republic. Campello, Minister of War, then rose. He said, that "since the sacred precinct had been polluted by that reading," he would have it, that all the horses of the *so-called* Apostolic Palaces and of the *so-called* noble Guards should be taken for the use of the artillery; as the Government of the Republic would in time make all needful provision for the proper service of the Pontiff. Unworthy jeer! And a law (for law they called it) was, at a word and a blow, one cannot in this case say adopted, or, as is usual, voted, but yelled accordingly. Thus did they mount sky-high. Next they wanted to descant upon the Constituent for Italy, a stupendous subject for speeches, though now a stale one; but Audinot pressed them to resume forthwith the financial debate. At the sitting of the 19th, after a long discussion, in which Monghini lost the reputation he had too lightly gained, of an economist and financier, a measure was carried empowering the Bank of Rome to issue 1,300,000 crowns in notes, which were to be a legal tender at par. This sum was guaranteed by a mortgage over the remainder of the value of the Appanage estates already mortgaged for the previous 600,000 crowns, and also on the capital of the Bank itself, which was half a million. The Bank was to lend 900,000 crowns of it to the Treasury without interest, and the other 400,000 to the merchants of Rome, Bologna, and Ancona, at not

more than six per cent. At the end of a year, the Government was to retire the notes in twelve equal monthly instalments. Great in Rome were the grudges and the resentments against the managers of the Roman Bank, especially against Agostino Feoli and a brother of Cardinal Antonelli. It was stated that, under the Government of Gregory XVI., they not only had dabbled in the dirt of finance, but that they had used the capital of the Bank rather to make great personal gains out of the Government, than in loans or discounts to the merchants. And in all this there was a dash of truth. Accordingly, whenever the Roman Bank was mentioned, grievances old and new, some just and some frivolous, were produced; nor was it at the time agreeable that the Republic should hold out her hand to beg of the old patrons or creatures of Papal finance. But necessity quelled both the ancient grudge and the new Republican airs; and Manzoni, nominally Deputy but really Minister of Finance, who appeared to be the very divinity of the Republican Treasury, was closeted whole days with Feoli, for whose favour even the Triumvirs had to bid. And Feoli was gracious to the new financiers, as he had been to the old. I will not say he sold his good will and his opinions retail, but his paper money he did sell, and with the zest of a dealer. But he took care to mind what he was about, for his patriotism and affection to the Republic did not cloud his commercial judgment, any more than his love of the Holy See and the Cardinals had before led him astray into any liberality unhandsome to himself and his friends.

He therefore, while tendering to the Republic his heart and his paper, pointed out what perils he might encounter from clerical rancour, and chose that the Bank should only yield herself up to the Republic as a ravished virgin would. So a scene of this kind was got up. The managers met to discuss the request made by Government for a loan; when Montecchi entered with one or two more, and said that they had best, at all events, decide in the affirmative. Feoli then caused notes to be taken of this soft and affected violence: he kept the evidence, with the recollection of it, in order thereafter to appease the clergy, and the agreement was concluded. Thus the Treasury obtained a degree of relief, but the quantity of paper money in circulation reached 5,000,000 crowns, and its exchangeable value in coin continually declined. All the world knew the necessity of resorting to extraordinary measures in aid of the exhausted Treasury. But the abstract proposition that Church property should be secularised was not cash. It had given occasion for new expenses in the department of lands, but no new revenue. Any one repairing at this time to the political clubs would have heard plenty of speeches on finance and public economy, on moneychangers, monopolies, and hoarding, with a hundred theories and schemes of financial wealth. But every speech came to this one conclusion, that there must be a forced imprest. And in sad truth, when things had reached such a point, there were but two alternatives, more paper money or else a compulsory loan. And now indeed grudges, cupidity, and resentments the

most ferocious and most base, grew rife. Some went straight enough to work; they would sconce the priests and the rich. In the interest of freedom they should have done very differently. This was the liberalism of savages. And as to the estates of the emigrants, political emigration there was none. A Roman Prince or too had indeed quitted the country. The Borghesi, a devout and openhanded family, Doria, a magnificent and esteemed nobleman, the Duke of Rignano, already mentioned with honour in these pages, and Ruviano, with Barberini and some others later, from Rome: few or none from the Provinces. The Cardinals indeed were off, excepting Mezzofanti and Bianchi, detained at Rome by illness; Tosti, who still resided at the Hospital of *S. Michele a Ripa* (though the office of President had been made over to one De Andreis, who could suit himself to every thing and every body); Marini, who had remained in concealment at an Umbrian Convent; and those who were in residence as Bishops. Also one or two Prelates had betaken themselves to the kingdom of Naples; but neither Cardinals nor Prelates, when following the Pope, could be regarded as of the class of political exiles. Yet the fancy of those, whom the demon of revolution had laid hold of, ran wild upon an emigration: they termed Gaeta the modern Coblentz. In our parody of France, the emigration was really lacking; but this Jacobin caricature supplied it. The *emigrés*, then, were menaced with confiscation; but this public opinion would not brook. Audinot and Sturbinetti, with Ercolani and the rest of the Right side, offered in the Assembly an

effective opposition to schemes of this kind. All classes and parties were still in the habit of meeting at the Club of Rome: and there the Constitutionalists, with the moderate Republicans, resisted all rabid and cruel appetites, and succeeded in imposing certain restraints upon opinion. Hence it came that our Jacobins were more terrible in words than in deeds: jabbering there was, not true popular eloquence: the instinct, not the energy, of subversion; a sham barbarity; mere fumes in the brain, with no vitality.

The Committee of Finance, to which belonged Audinot, Carpi, and Berretta, with some others by no means disposed to extreme courses, applied its attention to a plan for a forced loan introduced by the Government. After a minute inquiry, they determined on altering it essentially, and taking as a test not income, a calculation always doubtful and in times of commotion most dangerous, but capital. They accordingly, in a new measure, introduced provisions with a view to equity and economy: and the Ministry took in good part their inquiries and decisions, and receded from its original plan. When, however, the two came to be discussed in the Assembly, the left side, which mistrusted all opinions emanating from the right, offered so resolute an opposition to the plans of the Committee, that they were rejected; while the Minister Guiccioli, who had at first approved of them, left them to their fate, and fell back upon the project, which the Executive Committee had proposed. It was copied from that of the loan imposed by General Miollis upon Rome when

conquered by the Emperor Napoleon. Such was the school of liberal law that our Republican legislators frequented! Any one, desirous to see a sample of democratic jurisprudence, should cast his eye over the speeches of some of the Deputies in these debates on the forced loan. Gabussi desired that it should press exclusively

"On the rich man, who has a superfluity, and who is the chief opponent of democratic principles. He who has no superfluity should not be liable to the loan" [so he spoke, and the galleries applauded]: "therefore, in my judgment, precisely because we are in a state of revolution, we should not proceed by the rules of an every-day justice. Were these ordinary times, I should say, tax all holders of property: let him that has an hundred pay upon an hundred, him that has ten pay upon ten: but as the period is exceptional, my opinion is, those should pay who have what is superfluous: those should pay who will draw the greatest advantage from the new political order: and let alone the impoverished people, already taxed enough, who will contribute their blood instead of money to expel the enemy, while the rich only resist him with their trashy purse."

Then followed fresh applause for these new ethics of *justice extraordinary*. Gajani, too, was then heard to propose, that absentees should not only pay like those on the spot, but should also suffer the infliction of a pecuniary mulct. It was always the same itch of confiscation, the mania of barbarity to the refugees, already many times displayed, and, among others, by Zambianchi, the Secretary to the Assembly. The language of Audinot was truly noble. Here is a specimen:—

"To use a measure of finance as an instrument of arbitrary punishment for a pretended political offence, is a course both absurd and impolitic. In the name then, Gentlemen, of the maxims of liberty and equality, which I have defended throughout my life, and in the name of the everlasting moral law, upon which alone you can build or consolidate the Republic, I solemnly protest against the principle of this Article."

And his words told, although Sterbini burst into this raving:

"What have we been about now for whole days in this matter? We are making revolutionary laws, because we mean that the Republic shall be reared under all circumstances and at all costs. I can make no distinction between measures of policy and measures of finance: the Republic must at all events, whether by a penal or a fiscal law, smite those who have caballed against her:" [before she existed!] "Are you aware what those lords, those nobles, have been doing, who have deserted the country when she was in danger? They have protested against our revolution, have put this city in jeopardy, have acted with a view to raising the entire people, constrained by famine and misery, in arms against us. The State has had to spend, that it might keep the population quiet by giving it employment, because these nobles, because the wealthy had put an end to their commissions; ever aiming at this, that the population should turn upon us. Let them now pay the penalty of their perfidy."

This I place upon record by way of retribution against Sterbini, who shortly afterwards was himself chastised by the same Assembly, when he was odious to the Right, misliked by the Centre, agreeable to few, suspected on the Left. Chastised on the plea, or the ground, that the merchants of Bologna and Ancona had never got the assistance which had been voted them: both he and Guiccioli, the Minister of Finance,

(who all but fainted,) were sharply reprimanded and dismissed. The Executive Committee, however, created for Sterbini the new office of Superintendent of the Public Monuments.

The forced loan was adopted according to the following rules and proportions. A net income over 2000 crowns, and under 4000, paid twenty per cent.; from 4000 to 6000, twenty-five per cent.; from 6000 to 8000, thirty-three and one-third; from 8000 to 12,000, fifty; above 12,000, sixty-six and two-thirds. The payment might be made in three instalments, the first within twenty days, the second by the end of July, the last by the end of October. In each capital of a Province, the President was to appoint a board of ten, empowered to receive informations, examine and decide on them, and assess the impost. The loan was to bear interest at five per cent., and was guaranteed, as they said, by the national property; that is, by the Revolution. The law was an harsh and a senseless one; but the Boards generally mitigated its severity. I call it senseless, because to charge the rich means to tax the few; that is, to get in little: because reckonings on nett income are odious and almost impracticable, and in quiet periods, work wholly in favour of the tax-payer, but in rough times according to the caprice of one party and for the plunder of the other. The loan swelled the numbers of the discontented, and yielded but insignificant proceeds, although every one paid the first instalment, except a few Constitutionalists in the Provinces. The Treasury then was but little relieved, while the ordinary sources of revenue were progres-

sively dried up: the excise on corn ground was already gone: the barrier dues were next removed: the customs fetched little: the liberty of contraband, a prescriptive privilege under the Papal rule, throve under the Republic: and the expenditure increased, particularly for the army. The War-Department had always been among the worst constituted in the country. The Prelates, who were War Ministers, left no traditions of any war save one against the Treasury: the officeholders shifted, but the roots of the evil remained; confusion, laxity, and favouritism. Campello arranged, re-arranged, and disarranged: did some good and some evil, had learned and could do no better, for he could know no more of the matter than the Prelates. They gave him for Deputies, Calandrelli, a Roman, and Mezzocapo, a Neapolitan, both of them brave and expert officers: with Torre for general Secretary, who, as an officer of artillery in the war of independence, had distinguished himself for skill and courage, as he was already distinguished for probity and talent. They procured muskets, prepared ammunition, provided the men with good clothing: the two parks of artillery they increased to five, four of the class called field artillery, and one of siege: the dispersed legions and corps of volunteers they reduced as far as they could to military discipline: they made up, as it is technically phrased, the skeleton of an army. The artillery was to be served by 2630 men: the battalion of engineers was to number 752: two regiments of cavalry stood at 2038: and the infantry with its complements full

would have 31,066 rank and file: being four old regiments of the line, three new ones of light infantry, two Swiss, one regiment termed the Union, a battalion of sharp-shooters, another of riflemen of the Upper Rhine, the legion of Rome, that of Bologna, and Garibaldi's. Garibaldi had brought to the country with him some hundreds of Italians, and a handful of foreigners. After the events of the 16th, repairing from the Northern Provinces to the capital, he had picked up by the way, along with youths of spirit, some men of vicious habits, and some idlers: and had thus made up a corps exceeding 1000 men. Before they were uniformly clad and brought into some discipline, the very sight of them was fearful; but in truth they committed no serious excesses, for their gallant leader knew how to rein them in; prompt and severe in his punishments, averse, no man more so, to causing the citizens either injury or annoyance, and indifferent to his own advantage. The skeleton of the army was completed, and the nomination of the officers was nearly, indeed too nearly, over, but the men were not forthcoming, because, where there is no conscription, there can be no copious supply of good soldiers. But the Swiss regiments, bound by their oath of fidelity to the Pontiff, were not willing to swear it afresh to the Republic, and demanded to be sent home with the premiums stipulated in the agreements. Pichat, the President of Bologna, who had been named commandant of the third military division on Latour's resignation of that rank, requested of the Government at Rome the wherewithal to dis-

charge them at once, and to satisfy them with their due as was just and prudent: but Rome would not or could not supply the cash. Hence those troops, who, if they had been promptly disbanded, would probably have enlisted anew in the service of the Republic, as is usual with the Swiss soldiers of fortune, remained some time still embodied, though without a flag. At a later period, when the circumstances of the State, and of Italy, were worsened, and Europe was menacing the Romans with a Catholic scourging, they were disbanded; but none, except a few artillerymen, then agreed to serve the Republic. When the news of the Austrian incursion at Ferrara arrived at Rome, Campello, the War Minister, betook himself thither and to Bologna, and said he went to take measures for resistance, but it appeared that the Executive Committee liked that mode of getting him out of the way: for he left his office in Calandrelli's hands, and never got it back. The police of the State continued under the controul of Accursi, an indefatigable meddler, and all-powerful in the Home Department: by his side was rising one De Angelis of Pesaro, who awhile before had been placed by Mamiani in some low appointment; a man of fame more than doubtful, who aimed at position and power, and did not mind the means or way. Livio Mariani was at first placed at the head of the police of Rome, with the title of Prefect; the person who had commonly been used as a stopgap for any kind of office. Soon afterwards, he was named President of Rome and Comarca; and Pascoli, a man of bad

character, became Director of Police, but only for a short time, since the office was made over to Filippo Meucci, an honourable young man. In the riots that occurred about pulling down a bell which was the object of popular devotion, the police managed not to prevent but to moderate disorder. Mariani issued a proclamation to put down libellous writings against the clergy, and a manifesto on the Carnival sales, which, from its style, made a carnival of itself. The old police guards were disbanded, and I do not believe the new were ever appointed; Ciceruacchio and the blackguard Bezzi were the right arm of the Republican police. In Rome I admit that personal safety was not materially affected, for the offences against the lives and properties of the citizens were not more than usual; nor were there many broils or thefts, but a great deal of uproar and of vapouring and bullying from the Jacobins. The Carnival, too, was a merry one, and the *Corso* thronged. Only give the Romans a spectacle, and never fear that political passions will steal away the leisure or inclination of those loiterers for their fun. Every day the agitators were more incensed against the priests and friars, and annoyed them about the streets with contumely, so that many quitted the sacerdotal habit and dressed as laymen; one or two prelates likewise put aside their mantles and came out as dandies; there were, however, priests, friars, and prelates too, who never stooped even to disguises sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities; I may specify Corboli, to his honour, who at no time desisted from

discharging his ecclesiastical functions. In the Provinces, except a few towns, there was neither more order, nor more disorder, than in Rome; but the savage gangs of political assassins filled the towns of Imola, Senigallia, and Ancona, with tears and blood; of which I shall have to speak again with grief and indignation.

Of the administration of justice there is little to say. The sweeping legislative changes enacted by the Provisional Government, and the appointments of new Judges, fettered and delayed all proceedings. The Assembly had likewise abolished all the ecclesiastical courts; the new ones were in very slow process of construction. This, however, must be noticed, that Lazzarini, minister of Grace and Justice, gained an admirable character by his diligence, sagacity, and temper.

Nor is there much to say of diplomacy. The first diplomatic act of the Republic was a manifesto, in the name of the Constituent Assembly, to "EVERY PEOPLE." They said, "The sovereignty of the people is imprescriptible. None can be above it." They assigned pedantic reasons for the destruction of the temporal power of the Popes, and ended thus—"The Republic of Rome was making it her business to express the laws of universal morality and charity in the conduct she meant to pursue, and in the development of her political life." Even when Haynau was about plundering Ferrara, the Government at Rome called "the people of the whole Peninsula" to the rescue, proclaiming that they should rise in a mass:

and, while they were in the act of thus frankly preaching "the people's war," they had also the simplicity to address to the whole diplomatic body, that is to say, to the Governments, aye, of those subjects whom they had invited to take arms, a protestation against the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Rome, of a Republic recognised by no one Government. They sent to Paris two envoys; Pietro Beltrami of Bagnacavallo, the same who in 1845 had resisted the misgovernment of Gregory, and Federico Pescantini of Lugo, an exile since 1831, and a Swiss citizen. But while they intended to conciliate the Government of France by such a mission, they replied to an address of the party in the French Assembly called "the Mountain," which had sent to them to say that "the Republic of Rome was the first step towards the reconstruction of Italian nationality in the only form which now could make it feasible. . . . Observe," they added, "all that now is passing in France: do not let that lesson be lost upon you: revolutions must owe their salvation to a revolutionary energy." The Roman Assembly answered them in a similar strain: — "Rely on us," they said, "we rely on you." In a word, they relied on the Mountain, while they sent envoys to the President of the Republic; who, failing, as was natural, to be recognised in that capacity, consoled themselves upon it with the hopes suggested by the French malcontents. Spini, having been appointed Secretary to the Triumvirate, was recalled from Turin, and Doctor Feliciani, a surgeon, went thither as envoy, but was

not officially received. Meantime the Minister of Foreign Affairs was holding communications, under instructions from the Assembly, about convening a Constituent for Italy. It was to be one with unlimited powers, according to the notion of Montanelli. What Piedmont thought and determined on the subject, I have already stated; Naples and Lombardy were out of the question: there remained, then, Sicily, Venice, and Tuscany: Sicily menaced from day to day with the vengeance of a Bourbon, Venice under the pressure of a siege, Tuscany exhausted by convulsion. Padre Ventura, however, the Sicilian Envoy, agreed, indeed, on behalf of his country, to a Congress, with a view to a Federation, but not to a Constituent with unlimited powers, which might impair the autonomy of the several States; nor did Sicily as yet recognise the Republic; on the contrary, the Pope's Consul still had the Papal arms mounted at Palermo. Castellani, likewise, on behalf of Venice, denounced the Constituent, and declared he was not authorised to agree to any arrangement involving the unlimited powers. So that there remained only Tuscany, where Mazzini had arrived on the very day of the Grand Duke's departure from Siena, and had been welcomed with great rejoicings. He had addressed himself to recommending "unification" with Rome, for he did not choose to term it "fusion," a phrase hateful to him and his, though it meant the very same thing, or else had no practical meaning at all, because, as individuals and communities do not fuse like metals under the heat of liberty and the machinery of

rhetoric, so neither are states *unified* by the decree of an Assembly. But Guerrazzi was opposed to unification, and there were exceeding few in Tuscany who wished it, as the very officers of the Government bore witness; so that even in Tuscany Maestri of Milan, the Envoy of the Republic of Rome, made little way.

Thus the Roman diplomacy was by no means fortunate, nor were the advices, that came clandestinely from Gaeta to the city, of a kind to give her comfort. The Minister of Foreign Affairs learned that an invasion was in preparation, and was advised to invoke the mediation of one of the Powers: he learned, too, that England did not mix in the transactions at Gaeta, but let, and would let, matters take their course. We shall now see to what point those negotiations had advanced.

CHAP. III.

PLANS OF THE COURT OF GAETA: ITS VACILLATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS. — PROCEEDINGS AND INTRIGUES OF THE DIPLOMATISTS. —LANGUAGE OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—NOTE OF FEBRUARY 18. REQUESTING ARMED INTERVENTION. — ITS CONCLUDING PART QUOTED. — MINISTERIAL CHANGES IN PIEDMONT. — REMARK ON THE POLICY OF GIOBERTI.—ON THE ANGLO-FRENCH MEDIATION IN THE ITALIAN QUESTION. — MISGIVINGS AND COMMOTIONS IN ITALY. — THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCES. — TEXT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE CAPPONI MINISTRY TO RIDOLFI, ENVOY TO BRUSSELS. — COMPLICATIONS OF THE ITALIAN QUESTION. — RESOLUTE DESIGNS OF GIOBERTI.—CONSEQUENCES OF HIS FALL.—TEXT OF THE NOTE OF HIS SUCCESSOR GENERAL CHIODO IN REPLY TO CARDINAL ANTONELLI'S NOTE OF THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY. — LANGUAGE OF GENERAL COLLI, SUCCESSOR OF CHIODO, ADDRESSED TO MARTINI AT GAETA.—THE GRAND DUKE'S ARRIVAL AT GAETA.—INTRIGUES. — REPORTS OF AN IMPENDING INTERVENTION BY AUSTRIA IN TUSCANY. — TEXT OF ORDERS GIVEN BY THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT TO GENERAL ALFONSO LA MARMORA AT SARZANA. — OBSTACLES OFFERED BY FRANCE TO THE PROPOSED INTERVENTION IN THE ROMAN STATES. — HER SUGGESTION OF DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCES AT GAETA.

THE Court of Gaeta was settled in its purpose of restoring the temporal sovereignty of the Popes by means of foreign arms; but its plans were various and unstable, with subterfuges, misgivings, and contradictions in abundance: as the spirit of Pius IX. was vacillating and changeful, so was his language. I mentioned that, one day (I believe it was the 25th of January), in conversation with the Sardinian envoy, he allowed the sentiment to escape him, that it would be to him

by no means disagreeable, should Piedmont succeed in settling by her mediation the affairs of Rome. Antonelli had afterwards denied at Gaeta, and caused the Nuncio to deny at Turin, those expressions: and the Pontiff in conversation, on the 14th of February, with the same Envoy, spoke of "the use that had been made of a phrase, which he had forgotten to have escaped him; which, after all, could have meant at most only acquiescence in the proceedings of others, not authority to them to proceed." But disputes of this kind were now in vain, because the affairs of Rome had reached a point which nullified all idea of mediation: the Pope had formally protested, on the 14th of February, against the decree of the Constituent; the Cardinals in concistory had determined on asking foreign aid: nor did Piedmont ever press for more than this, that they should proceed in an Italian sense, and with Italian forces, in case of need only, to the restoration of the Constitutional Throne. After the concistory, the Neapolitan troops had moved towards the Roman frontier: and Cardinals, Prelates, and courtiers went about bragging merrily that, in a short time, the King of Naples and Austria would set the clerical dominion on its feet again. But inasmuch as Piedmont still protested, and threatened war in case Austria should invade Romagna, while France declared she would not tolerate the forcible intervention of Austria single-handed, and yet showed a repugnance to any combination with her, from these causes the determinations of the Powers lagged sadly behind the belligerent longings of the clergy. The Austrian

ministry evinced great moderation towards France, and said they would undertake nothing unless with her consent. Thom, an Austrian agent at Paris, conducted himself with abundant tact in allaying the susceptibility of France, and in forwarding the wily policy of his Government without disgusting the new Republic, which was surrendering herself to the caresses of the northern Powers. Austria broached various plans: she would enter Romagna, while France made a demonstration with ships and troops at Ancona and Civita Vecchia: or, if more agreeable, she would halt her army on the Po, and France should keep her fleet in the Mediterranean and Adriatic waters, while the Neapolitan army alone should enter the Roman States. France, however, would not lend herself to these arrangements: she was ready enough to gratify the Pope and Austria, but she proposed that the arms of Piedmont should be joined with those of Naples; and Cardinal Giraud himself recommended the Holy Father not to offend and incense Piedmont. But the Pope owned to him that he mistrusted her; and then repeated the charges circulated by the Neapolitan Government, although he had given the Sardinian Minister a positive assurance that he did not believe they were founded in truth. Nor was it Piedmont alone that the Pope and Cardinals distrusted, but France too, and that sorely, so that Cardinal Antonelli one day, in grumbling at her, spoke thus: "I know what are the projects of France. When, after the events of the 16th November, Cavaignac sent De Courcelles with offers,

the plan was to supply a guard for the person of the Pontiff, but not to mix in politics; she is always on the same tack, and it will not do for us; Cavaignac's soldiers would have tolerated even the proclamation of a Republic; French arms can never be a secure defence for the Pontiff." And I believe that the clergy and the Cardinal were then justified, or that some day they will be justified, in these misgivings. But if they were then warranted, or one day will be so, in this point, it is plain they went the more grossly wrong in throwing themselves on strangers rather than on Italians.

At this juncture, the events which I have related occurred in Tuscany. The Papal Court rejoiced, and, while rejoicing, was intent on turning them to account; seconded, to a marvel, by the Court of Naples, by Boutenieff, the Russian Minister, by Esterhazy, and by Martinez de la Rosa himself, who was managed by his Secretary Arnau, a person devoted to Russia and to Austria. And now all delay was broken off; and the armed assistance of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples, was publicly requested by the Pope through a note which, on the 18th of February, Cardinal Antonelli addressed to the whole diplomatic body. It was an historical summary, neither exact in every part, nor elegant in any, of the Pope's proceedings on the throne and in exile, and of the recent occurrences. It concluded thus:—

"The Holy Father, having thus exhausted all the means at his command, is constrained, by the obligation laid upon

kin in the face of the whole Catholic world, to preserve unbroken the patrimony of the Church and the Sovereignty thereto annexed, so indispensable as it is for upholding his full liberty and independence as supreme Head of the Church herself; and being also urged by the sighing of the good, who, unable to bear any longer a yoke of iron and the tyrant's grasp, loudly call for aid, he turns once more to the same Powers, especially to the Catholic ones among them, who in so generous a spirit, and in an unequivocal mode, have testified their decided resolution to stand in readiness for defending his cause: feeling certain, that they will be prepared with the utmost promptitude to employ jointly their moral interposition for his restoration to the Holy See, in the Capital of those dominions which were constituted for the precise purpose of upholding his full freedom and independence, and were guaranteed likewise by the treaties, which form the foundation of the public law of Europe.

"And inasmuch as Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by their geographical position lie so that they can repair promptly to the dominions of the Holy See to re-establish the public order overthrown by a horde of sectaries: the Holy Father, accordingly, trusting in the religious concern of these Powers, daughters of the Church, asks with entire confidence their armed intervention, mainly to liberate the States of the Church from that band of wretches, which is exercising there, with every kind of enormity, the most atrocious despotism.

"In such manner only can the pristine order be reinstated in the dominions of the Church; and the Holy Father restored to the free exercise of his supreme authority, as is imperiously required by his sacred and august character, and for the interests of the universal Church and the repose of the inhabitants. Thus will he be enabled to maintain that patrimony, which he received, on his assumption of the Pontificate, to be transmitted intact to his successors. His cause is that of order, and of Catholicism. For this reason the Holy Father trusts, that all the Powers with whom he stands in

amicable relations, and who in so many forms have testified their most lively concern at the situation into which he has been plunged by a seditious party, will lend a moral assistance to the armed intervention which the gravity of the circumstances has induced him to invoke: and that the four above-mentioned Powers will grant without a moment's delay the exertion asked of them, and will thus make both public order and religion their debtors.

"G. CARDINAL ANTONELLI."

Just when the Court of Gaeta pressed for immediate and armed assistance by this public solicitation, Piedmont was weltering in a sea of troubles. Gioberti, who had been raised to power by an unhappy quarrel with the moderate section, had subsequently dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and had lent the weight of his authority to the election of men swayed rather by generous emotion and the buoyancy of youth, than by argument or civil wisdom. Accordingly, no sooner had they met, than he thought it his duty to tone down the public mind, and to develope his ideas, national indeed and liberal, yet conservative of the institutions of limited monarchy: he, I say, thought this his duty, as a foe to democratic excesses, although he had accepted that title of the democratic ministry, which the current of fashion endeared to the excited masses. Even on the Roman question, whenever he had an opportunity of touching it in Parliament, he spoke in such a strain as plainly indicated the policy which he pursued, and which is clearly exhibited in the papers I have inserted on the subject. When the designs of the Court of Gaeta, and the intentions formed abroad, came to his knowledge, so

that he saw his efforts for a reconciliation baffled, and the gravest perils impending over Italy, he had advised King Charles Albert to garrison with his troops the fortified city of Ancona, with the view of taking that share in the affairs of Rome, which neither the Republicans, nor the Pope, nor the foreigners, except France, were willing to assign to Piedmont. But King Charles Albert hesitated a while, and then came to the opposite opinion: for he did not venture on the one hand to put his own forces in motion at the risk of collision with other armies, Italian like his own, or on the other to plant a garrison on the Church's territory without the Pope's assent. Then came the confusion in Tuscany: the Grand Duke absconded from Siena, and asked assistance, as I have related, from the King of Piedmont; whereupon Gioberti, anxious to restore tranquillity in the States of Central Italy before Austria should catch at so marvellous an opportunity for turning these strange incidents to account, promptly determined upon granting the request, if the King agreed. But when the letter of Leopold II., revoking the request for aid, had arrived, Charles Albert paused, and after advising with the rest of his ministers, decided upon declining to undertake a restoration in Tuscany; although Gioberti, encouraged by some foreign ministers, and by prominent citizens of that State, was resolved to carry it through. Thus abandoned by his colleagues, by the Deputies, and by the King, he requested and obtained leave to retire. This gave offence in Parliament and to the public: the agitators throughout Italy denounced him as a traitor; the Tuscan ministers, shame

upon them! scurrilously abused him, and he tumbled headlong from his popularity with the democratic party. Few indeed of the worshippers of luck remained steady to him; few had the courage at the time to applaud his plans, few afterwards; yet if History be not an empty speculation, nor the handmaid of passion, nor the mouthpiece of the mob, but an authority sitting in judgment on the designs of men, surely she will commemorate with honour those resolute and daring plans.

In my Third Book, I have touched upon the projects of mediation mooted by France and England after the disasters of the Piedmontese army and the truce of Milan: and have stated that Piedmont, after a short delay, acceded to them, while Austria, on the contrary, elated by victory, greatly procrastinated her acceptance. At length, with an ill grace, and with evident intentions in an opposite sense, she brought herself to send Count Colloredo as her envoy to Brussels, where the conferences were to be held. It is said she intimated, that in her judgment any arrangements for Italy must be based exclusively on the well-known treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1815. Assuredly her ill-humour was manifest from a multitude of tokens; and increasedly when, after the revolt of Vienna, the abdication of the Imperial Crown by the mild Ferdinand II., and the accession of the youthful Francis-Joseph, the Prince Schwartzenberg, a keen enemy to the Italians, to Piedmont, and to King Charles Albert, took the direction of Austrian affairs. Hence no one in Italy trusted at all to the conferences at Brussels to satisfy the sentiments of nationality,

and because of this want of confidence the public mind was haunted with gloomy suspicions, or gave itself over to schemes of desperation. The Piedmontese army was in process of reconstruction and enlargement, yet slowly; nor were the changes of Ministry, with the rhodomontades of newspapers, and the growing unruliness of mind and temper, calculated to impart steadiness or courage. Yet, both in Piedmont and in the rest of Italy, many ill endured any delay in the resumption of hostilities: while Genoa, ever restless, was frequently in tumult, and everywhere the cry for war arose, though neither arms, funds, nor leaders were forthcoming. Gioberti had become aware both of the weakness of the army, and of the expediency of taking time to bring it round, as well as of eschewing offence to the friendly nations, who had nearly effected the negotiation of a peace for Italy. He therefore used means to moderate impatience, being determined to resort to arms only when it should be plain that the conferences at Brussels would fail to satisfy the exigencies and sentiment of nationality. The Marquis Ricci of Genoa, an expert diplomatist, was appointed by the King of Piedmont to attend them, with instructions not to bind himself to any terms, except such as should secure the nationality and independence of Italy. The Grand Duke of Tuscany likewise, with Capponi for his first minister, dispatched Ridolfi to Brussels with liberal and Italian views. Those who pride themselves upon calumniating opponents, said then and still say, that the Constitutionalists were, and continued to be, luke-

warm in prosecuting the design of Italian independence; and they are wont to rhapsodise about I know not what intrigues of an anti-liberal diplomacy. Capponi, Ridolfi, and other distinguished Tuscans, have been the butt of so much opprobrium and imputation, that I conceive it my duty to supply proof of the purposes with which they directed the diplomacy of Tuscany, so that History, as the judge of every generation, and the avenger of every slander and every injustice, may preserve the record of the truly national plans prosecuted, during the recent vicissitudes of Italy, by men who believed that she was to find stability, freedom, and independence in a federation of her constitutional monarchies. Let, then, the calumniators, and let the unthinking, whose voice always repeats the strain of theirs, see what were the diplomatic intrigues, as they termed them, of the Constitutionalists. I subjoin the orders, commonly called the instructions, that the Capponi ministry conveyed, through Giorgini, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Marquis Cosimo Ridolfi, the Grand Duke's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the conferences of Brussels.

"Florence, September 22. 1848.

"Your Excellency,

"At a moment when the numerous and grave questions raised by the state of Italy are about to be diplomatically discussed, perhaps decided, it is requisite that Your Excellency should be precisely informed what are the views and wishes of the Grand-Ducal Government, at least in regard to the more important among them, and should thus be fur-

nished with a standard by which to regulate your own conduct.

"The leading idea of the Tuscan Government, and the aim to which it postpones every other wish, is that of national independence. Our aspirations and demands as Italians are great and widely extended; while our pretensions as Tuscans are most modest. Every plan therefore, and every course which, even without any direct advantage to Tuscan interests, may confirm or reinforce the principle of national independence, should be supported by your Excellency with all your vigour, and every means of persuasion at your command.

"Descending to more precise explanation and to a more minute analysis of the juncture, the Tuscan Government would ardently desire the abandonment by Austria of her entire Italian territory. Except with this condition it is vain to speak of national independence, or for diplomacy to flatter itself that it has permanently solved the Italian question. If then, as is likely, certain combinations should be mooted tending to make of the Lombardo-Venetian, or even of the Venetian territory alone, a second Hungary, your Excellency will oppose them, and will point out their utter futility as to the present satisfaction of public opinion in Italy, and all their prospective perils: you will oppose them upon grounds of principle, and also upon grounds of policy. Should Austria agree or be induced to abandon her Italian territory, then would arise the question of its disposal. It is out of all likelihood, after the recent events, that the entire Lombardo-Venetian soil should be assigned to Piedmont: the more so because the dispositons of France towards her are known to be not over favourable. It seems probable that, in order to supply the means of satisfying a greater number of interests, Lombardy will be severed from Venezia. Amidst these new territorial arrangements it is but just that in some mode or other Piedmont, which has effected so much for the national cause, has suffered such heavy losses and confronted so great dangers, should find her account in it. This may be brought about in two ways; either by amalgamating Lombardy with

Piedmont, or by giving the crown of Lombardy to a son of Charles Albert. Should these two combinations come into discussion, you will support and uphold the second. The lamentable dissensions, which have arisen between Piedmontese and Lombard in these last times, the rivalry between Turin and Milan, should they form part of the same State, the utility of the nicest practicable equilibrium between the Italian States, present so many reasons for preferring the second scheme. As to Venezia, should she be disjoined from the Empire, the question, so far as appears, will turn between a Prince of the House of Austria, and Francis V. of Modena. Personal reasons of preference there are none, particularly when we reflect, that the new institutions largely diminish the importance of the personal qualities of the Sovereign. But, considering that to place Francis V. at Venice would lead almost with certainty to the suppression of the Duchy of Modena, your Excellency, should the alternatives lie as I have above described, will bestow all your solicitude and your means of persuasion in favour of Francis V. of Modena preferably to a Prince of the House of Austria.

"Next to the expulsion of the Austrians from the territory of Italy, the liveliest desire of the Grand-Ducal Government is the suppression of the Duchies of Parma and Modena. Until this shall have taken place, the tranquillity of Italy cannot be called secure. Those two petty States are as it were the visible index of the national degradation, and if preserved they would keep up a ceaseless agitation and an hazardous disquiet: the sense of national dignity would regard them as a standing provocation. On this it is needful to insist with the utmost energy, and in a manner to insure a hearing. Nor has Tuscany herein any ambitious purpose of aggrandisement; the reasons just assigned for the suppression of those two petty States are the true and only ones, nor do they cover any second motives: and their annexation either to Piedmont or to Lombardy will encounter no sort of opposition at the hands of this Government. If, however, in the adjustment of Italian affairs, it should on

any account be deemed useful that these territories should, either in whole or in part, be attached to Tuscany, the Grand-Ducal Government would not decline it; yet with this reservation, that, if the increment should be too insignificant, and we should have to cross the Apennine for a few yards of soil, the trouble of the new acquisition would be by so much greater than the gain as to constrain us to refuse it. While, as respects an addition more valuable and extended, it would require to bear relatively to us the aspect not of a demand granted, but simply of a tender accepted. What the Grand-Ducal Government does ask, and asks with the persuasion of being in many ways entitled to it, is the maintenance of its existing frontiers such as they were fixed by the Act of acceptance dated May 12. 1848. The loss of these possessions recently appended to Tuscany would be to her a source of the keenest mortification; and this not so much because of the curtailment of territory she would undergo, or of any other point of her own separate interest, but because the Grand-Ducal Government is sincerely persuaded that the people of the Lunigiana and the Garfagnana, recently adjoined to us, are Tuscan alike by geographical position, by relations of commerce, and by affection: and that the prosperity, which they may derive from their incorporation into the Tuscan community, they cannot possibly obtain by union with any other State whatever. The wishes and the love of the inhabitants, with the singlemindedness constantly evinced by the Government of H. R. H. in the Italian question, and the sacrifices it has made in the national cause, constitute so many reasons worthy of all consideration, for which this desire on the part of Tuscany could not be disappointed without injustice. And if, when these pleas shall have been duly appreciated, they shall be thought to invest Tuscany with a right to some augmentation, she, on the same grounds which tell in favour of the districts already attached to her, would earnestly desire the acquisition of Sarzana. For the rest, the Grand-Ducal Government will accept in case of need any larger extension of territory which it may be

thought expedient to assign to Tuscany for the better general adjustment of Italian affairs, not making it however the subject of an explicit request. Her explicit requests, so far as they bear upon her own particular interests, are confined to these: the non-curtailment of her existing frontier, and the acquisition of Sarzana. This Government is still uncertain whether, in settling the question of Italy, diplomacy will simultaneously attempt to deal with Sicily, and to adjust the very formidable difficulties which the condition of the island presents. Supposing the affirmative, as it would be the duty of the Government of H. R. H. to propound its wishes and advice on the course which Tuscany would preferably see pursued, it would lean to an amicable compromise between the two contending parties. The compulsory union of Sicily with the mainland of Naples is only possible at the expense of a fatal effusion of blood, of a repressive and violent government, of a frantic hatred between the one and the other people, and of perpetual insecurity. On the other hand, the rupture of all ties between Sicily and the dynasty of King Ferdinand might peradventure be not over conformable to equity, besides which King Ferdinand would not certainly acquiesce in it. The plan that would gain all points alike, in the interest of both the two countries in question, and of the peace of Italy at large, is, in the opinion of the Tuscan Government, the choice of the second son of King Ferdinand as King of Sicily. This arrangement, then, is the one that your Excellency is instructed to promote as opportunity shall offer.

"Lastly, when the question of territorial delimitation is adjusted, it will be of the highest advantage that the Italian States should coalesce in one close confederation such as may, both ideally and practically, represent Italian nationality; and that Europe should recognise to all intents and purposes this new nationality, and should even favour, if requisite, its erection.

From these general rules, and particularly from your insight into the spirit of them, Your Excellency's perspicacity

will derive the guidance needful for the fulfilment of the important mission which has been intrusted to you.

"Accept, Marquis, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

"G. GIORGINI."

The flight and protests of the Pope, the proclamation of a Republic at Rome, and the appeal to the arms of the stranger, followed by the flight of the Grand Duke and the subversion of the Throne in Tuscany, had, as was natural, marred every project, and mightily augmented the difficulties and complications of the Italian question, on which the Brussels conferences were to pass judgment. The Pope in collision with nationality, the Sovereign of Rome expelled, the Sovereign of Tuscany the same; these were the facts that had occurred since the arbitration of France and England was accepted. It was no longer a controversy between Italy and Austria; it had become a question of the Popedom, of Monarchy, of Governments; while the clergy made it one of Catholicism, and the Catholic Powers were truckling to the clergy. Thus it was, and all this Gioberti saw; when, by way of conductor to the impending storm, a masculine idea lighted upon his capacious intellect; to try and bring back the question to its elements, restore the down-trodden monarchies of Central Italy, reinstate the Popedom, but in an Italian spirit, gain for Piedmont all the glory, let her, with all this achieved, present herself before Europe as the avenger of the Catholics, the restorer of the Pope and of constitutional Monarchy; and then, with her

great weight in forces and in renown, vindicate anew, either by negotiation or in arms, the independence of the Italian nation. But could this wise and bold conception, to which, however, as is said, Gioberti was encouraged by England and by France, be realised? It is questionable; but, at any rate, it deserves historical record and celebrity, as the final effort of a sagacious daring to save Italy from utter ruin.

After Gioberti's fall, the Court of Gaeta and Austria on the one hand, and the Republicans on the other, were more free to gratify their cravings, and to push their experiments, upon Central Italy. Piedmont, nevertheless, continued to protest, as is plain from the reply which, on the 23d of February, General Chiodo, provisionally Minister of Foreign Affairs, made to Cardinal Antonelli's note of the 18th. Here it is:—

"The Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State to His Holiness the Pope addressed, on the 18th current, to the Minister of H. M. the King of Sardinia to the Holy See, with the request that it might be brought to the knowledge of his Government, a note wherein, after an historical detail of the events of which Rome has been recently the theatre, he intimates that the armed intervention of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples has been sought, with the view of re-establishing order in the Roman States, and of reinstating the Holy Pontiff in the free exercise of his authority.

"At the first moment of the appearance of these deplorable dissensions, which gave rise to the Pope's resolution to remove from Rome, the King, prompted by his sentiments of profound veneration for the Head of the Church, and faithful

to the obligations entailed upon him by his position in Italy, conceived the desire, and the hope, of restoring, by the peaceful method of an accommodation, that harmony between his Holiness and the people of the Roman State, on which hangs the twofold interest of religion and of the tranquillity of Italy.

"This hope waxed all the stronger, when Pius IX., justly confiding in the King's affection and devotion, addressed to him a letter having reference to that supposition, which to His Majesty was careful to answer with the offer of the good offices of his Government.

"The Cabinet of H. M. had grounds to hope, that a result so desirable might be attained without importing into the Italian question a complication of which the interest of the Papal States and of Italy at large dictated the avoidance.

"When therefore the King's Government had learned, that an armed intervention in favour of Pius IX. had been projected, it felt an obligation to draw the attention of Foreign Powers to the disagreeable consequences which such a project was certain to involve, and to protest formally against its execution.

"The King's Government has now the positive announcement, that the Supreme Pontiff, abandoning all pacific means, has requested the armed intervention of several foreign States, in order to obtain by force an object which prudence would have recommended reaching by the paths of conciliation. It therefore, adhering to the tenor of the declaration which it addressed to the non-Italian Powers on the 12th of last January, holds itself bound to protest in the most formal manner against the present step of the Holy See, and against any assents that may be yielded to a demand, having for its object to invite an intervention by foreigners in Italy, while excluding therefrom the King of Sardinia, an Italian Prince, whose pacific mediation has been declined.

"In making this protest, the King's Cabinet is enabled incontestably to establish its right, by appealing to the right of Italian nationality and independence; this forming the

basis of the international law which binds together the States of Italy, and imposes on them the obligation to resist the occupation, even though momentary, of any portion of this country by any Power foreign to the Peninsula. It might oppose, in detail, just and appropriate reasons to those grounds on which the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State to His Holiness strives to justify this appeal to force. But, in the assurance that they will not escape the penetration of foreign Cabinets, the King's Government waives enlarging upon them. It could not, however, without betraying a duty which is but the just requital of the affection and sympathy manifested by the different countries of Europe towards Italy, abstain from once more inviting the attention of their Governments to the fatal consequences, which a foreign intervention in one of the States of Italy must produce.

"In truth, the communities of the Peninsula, which have obtained the free institutions so long desired, find their happiness in the idea that they may long and tranquilly enjoy them. It is only under this supposition, that the agitation exhibited among them in the first moments of such freedom will subside, and will be replaced by the wish for order and for the most complete repose. But should a foreign intervention introduce among them the fear of seeing the existence of this freedom, and of these political institutions, endangered, there would ensue a public excitement, such as when exasperated by a nation's galled self-love, would beget the most deplorable disorders, nay perhaps the weightiest calamities; inasmuch as it might cause the outburst of civil war in Italy, and of a political conflagration throughout Europe.

"In another view, this armed intervention would be utterly inconsistent with the intention of the Conferences which at this very moment are to be held at Brussels.

"The undersigned has, &c.

"CHIODO."

General Colli, who next became Minister of Foreign

Affairs and President of the Council for a few days in Piedmont, wrote, on the 1st of March, to the Minister Martini at Gaeta that "he was to observe a strict neutrality in the affairs of Rome; since," he added, "being excluded from the intervention, we have deemed it our duty to protest." He went on to say, "I need hardly observe to you that you should make it your business to imprint on our relations with the Holy Father that character of affectionate veneration, which becomes a Government and a people eminently Catholic. You will pursue a similar course with respect to the Grand Duke, in regard to whom our position is almost identical."

The Grand Duke had reached Gaeta on the 22nd of February, and had been very joyously welcomed there by the Papal and Neapolitan Courts, by the Russian and Austrian Ambassadors, and by the rest of the authors of, and accomplices in, plots against the liberty and independence of Italy. "We did not look for him so soon," said one of these, felicitating himself on such good luck. The Grand Duchess was inflamed, in true Neapolitan fashion, with a mighty fever of absolutism; and was petted in all the impulses of a woman and a Bourbon, by a clique, adroit in feminine diplomacy, whom her royal relatives had planted round her. She was now acquiring influence in the direction of Tuscan politics. The entire Grand Ducal family, which had fixed its sojourn at Molo di Gaeta, lived in close intimacy with the Royal family of Naples; and it is superfluous to remark, that they got on well together. Benedictions

and ecclesiastical censures, gallantry and fear, imbecility and pride, marvellously conspired to throw Tuscany into the arms of faithless strangers. It is said that the Grand Duke, even before reaching Gaeta, wrote to his Austrian relatives to ask for help: undoubtedly such was the rumour in Italy and beyond it; while the movements of the Austrian army of Upper Italy pointed towards the Tuscan frontier. It was then that the Piedmontese Ministry sent orders to General Alfonso La Marmora, who commanded the division of Sarzana, to hold himself in readiness for active operations. The orders bore "that the Piedmontese division was not to be pushed into Tuscan territory, until positive information of the march of the Austrian force to that quarter should have been received. In such case, General La Marmora would at once occupy the passes of the Apennines that point towards Modena, by no means with the view of meddling in the domestic affairs of Tuscany, or of undertaking the defence of the entire Tuscan territory, but, undoubtedly, with that of occupying the strategical positions, necessary for the defence of the military line of Piedmont, and capable of facilitating a march to attack the Austrian forces in the Modenese.

But the convenient season for Austria to throw herself into the heart of Central Italy had not yet arrived, nor for the three Courts, that were conspiring at Gaeta, to gratify even to satiety their vindictive eagerness. France replied as before to the note of February 18th, in which her armed intervention was

requested, by general expressions, recommending prudential arrangements, and gaining time. The minister, D'Harcourt, went on to state, that it would not be proper either to decide or to act without the assent of Piedmont, and persisted in suggesting Italian preferably to foreign interference. Hence it arose, that every day he grew more odious to the Neapolitan and Papal Courts, which placed their reliance on Rayneval in his stead; who, as Minister of the French Republic at Naples, naturally was also mixed up with those negotiations. At length the Government of France spoke out, and proposed that diplomatic conferences should be held at Gaeta between the representatives of the Four Powers, whose armed intervention the Pontifical Court had solicited; and that no undertaking should be commenced, unless by a previous agreement of all parties at those conferences. Hence ensued new postponements of action, and new negotiations, of which we shall have to treat in the sequel.

CHAP. IV.

MAZZINI IN TUSCANY: HIS BARREN PROJECT. — UNIFICATION UNPALATABLE TO THE TUSCANS. — LANGUAGE OF MAZZINI TO CAPPONI, AND REMARKS. — MAZZINI AT ROME, AND REMARKS. — SOME VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY. — MAZZINI A MEMBER OF IT: HIS LANGUAGE THERE. — HIS SYSTEM, OPINIONS, ACTS, AND INCONSISTENCIES. — HIS POWER. — HE STILL URGES UNIFICATION. — CANINO. — COMMISSIONERS SENT TO TUSCANY. — THE ITALIAN CONSTITUENT. — DEBATE ON BASE MONEY. — MEASURES AGAINST POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS. — EXTRACTS FROM A PROCLAMATION OF SAFFI. — HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PRESIDENTS. — EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF HIS TO LADERCHI, PRESIDENT OF RAVENNA. — LADERCHI'S REMEDIAL PROCEEDINGS AT IMOLA. — PASSAGE FROM A PROCLAMATION OF HIS. — PASSAGE FROM ANOTHER LETTER OF SAFFI. — SOME REPRESSIVE PROCEEDINGS IN ROME. — END OF THE TRUCE BETWEEN PIEDMONT AND AUSTRIA. — M. MERCIER AT THE CAMP OF CHARLES ALBERT, AND THEN AT GAETA. — EFFECT OF THE NEWS THAT THE TRUCE WAS ENDED AT GAETA AND AT NAPLES. — M. MERCIER SENT TO ROME BY THE DUC D'HARCOURT. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH ARMELLINI. — WITH MAMIANI, AND HIS ANSWER. — LORENZO VALERIO SENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PIEDMONT INTO CENTRAL ITALY, TO FLORENCE, BOLOGNA, ANCONA, AND ROME. — INCIDENTS IN THE ASSEMBLY OF ROME ON THE NEWS OF WAR. — LANGUAGE OF MAZZINI. — PROCLAMATION OF WAR. — RECOLLECTIONS.

MAZZINI could not succeed in controuling, either by his own authority or by the efforts and clamour of his agents, the politics of Tuscany. Not less modest in his aspect, than headstrong in his temper, he desired beyond everything to make Tuscany into a Province of the Roman Republic: but this notion, cloaked under the grandiloquent phrase of *unification*, did not suit the

views either of Guerrazzi, or of the Council of State, or even of their fellow-citizens most notable for flaming Liberalism. If we except Montanelli, who had now resumed his first love towards the *Giovine Italia*, and Mordini the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who would go a-hunting after every momentary whimsey with the common herd of the Clubs, Tuscany not only was restive towards Mazzini, but gave a dull and sullen opposition to the tricks of her extemporary administrators. Of this Mazzini was himself aware, and he admitted to Capponi that Italy did not seem to be inclined for a Republic; protesting, however, that by a Republic only could she obtain success and unity, that the precedent and effort should be made, so that the seed might ripen with time. And though he was in doubt whether that experiment of his could be carried through, or grow into the consistency of a State, still he thought that love for Italy demanded the attempt. Strange passion this, of the fanaticism that creates its idol, and then immolates to it human victims with a Druidical piety, as if nations were ideal entities, and had no nerves to suffer or eyes to weep, and as if the sages of revolution came straight down from God, and fetched from Him the right to afflict and to remodel human nature, with a creative power pre-ordained to a certain and determined object.

Rome was the fit atmosphere of Mazzini: to Rome he was attracted by his revolutionary mysticism, by his sectarian fatalism, by an excited multitude given over to pride of race and of traditions, to hazard, and

to the hardihood of experimentalists. There is no Roman State known to history: a State there is, termed Pontifical, the glebe-land of the Church, an aggregate of feudal and republican municipalities, of which each cherishes its own traditions, and its own conceit if not renown, as contradistinguished from those of the State, which has none. In vain do certain ecclesiastics attempt to confound the tradition of their own lordship with the holy and wondrous one of the Eternal Church. In vain do they dream of consolidating a State while they disown the Nation, the mother and material of all States. They hold a fief by force, and just as if it were slung in air, not planted on Italian soil, they set down for felons to the Church all who feel they are sons to Italy. And a strange lordship it is: no monarchy, no republic; no more is it a pure theocracy: it is a tradition of state-papers, not of a King, not of a class, nay, not of a caste, for that caste has no stereotyped tradition, and has changed, and will ever change, its tone for the sake of power. Here is found no military, no civil, no legislative glory: what they call the State is a mere negation of every glory upon earth; it is a house of cards, which a Pope's Bull may shuffle anew at any moment. Rome, as a State, is in the wilderness: barren of those patriotic affections, which are next holiest to the love of God; barren of that very civilisation, which has its basis, its breath, its spur, from Christianity. Rome is universal, therefore is no man's country. There is one patrimony of St. Peter, with the wrecks of the old Republic, and of the old and the modern Empire; one

or more Marches, one or more Duchies, the conquests of warrior Popes, or of butchers, the spawn of nepotism; memorials of feuds, of republics, of crimes, of monopolies, but no memorial of the new and self-renewing civilisation. Accordingly, the province which is denominated the Roman State, is his who first invades it: for by whom is it defended? not by the traditions of a State, not by the troops, whose name of *Papalini* smacks of proverbial ignominy; it is defended by the Church and her censures, and by the clergy, the gatherers and guides of foreign armies: and this clerical empire yet stands; but it is no State nor Empire of Rome, no Italian kingdom: at certain junctures, they do not call it Papal, they call it "of the Church." Thus, without an history, without civil authority, without military strength, stands this Government of the clergy. Pius IX. had given it (and it has got) a death-blow, on the day when, in generous kindness, he resolved to frame a State after the modern civilisation: on the day when he uttered the name of country, of Italy, of the nation, of independence, of Italian Leagues, and blessed them all. He was afterwards, by popular crimes and follies, by clerical jealousy and cupidity, by foreign frauds and chicanery, forced to take down again from the shelf that tradition of a caste which he had displaced: but he had already completed the transformation of ideas, affections, and opinions. The three millions of Epicenes felt themselves Italians: they resolved, and still intend, to be such under a civilised and Italian Government. The ecclesiastics fled, no head remained;

Mazzini came, and to the people warm with Italian fervour, and ambitious of a country, of renown, of civil advantages, he spoke in strains like this: "I have found amid the ruins of Roman grandeur, nay, in the Papal tradition itself, a wonder-working idea: as Romans, ye were great: I consecrate you Roman Italians: you subdued the earth with the eagle, the soul of man with the cross; here are the cross and the eagle, God and the people, Rome the head and centre of Italy, the city chartered for eternity, the predestined Queen of a world-wide unity, revives: Italy and Europe with her." It was the time when protests, censures, information of European menaces streamed into Rome from Gaeta: the Pontifical governors were all off; the clergy aghast and in disgrace, the Sanfedists mum in expectation of a rescue, the Constitutionalists without an ensign. The Romans were looking for a flag; Mazzini had one: it was not so much his own agents who had paved for him his *Via Sacra* to the Capitol, as the stiffneckedness of the Court of Gaeta.

Rome had given him his citizenship; and now gave him, in common with some more from other Italian Provinces, Cernuschi of Milan, Saliceti, and Dallongaro, a seat in the Constituent Assembly. In continuation of its proceedings, that body had decreed that the money of the Roman Republic should bear on the obverse the figure of Italy, upright, encircled by the motto "God wills the Unity of Italy:" on the reverse the civic crown, the token or figure of the value in the middle, the date beneath, and round these the

inscription "Republic of Rome." Every flag-staff was topped with an eagle. The Assembly is entitled to praise for its generous recollection of aid to Venice, the long-enduring: for it determined on sending her a present of 100,000 crowns in Treasury bonds. It likewise deserves commendation for having, at a sitting with closed doors on the 2d of March, made complaint of the political assassinations, which grew obstinate in the Provinces, and enjoined the Ministers to take effectual measures for punishing and repressing them. Another secret sitting followed, at which the Executive Committee asked 100,000 crowns for uses of police, diplomacy, or conspiracy as the case might be, and I think it was for all three, but there can be no certainty how the sum was spent, since the secret was only told to three deputies selected for the purpose. The report was, that it was employed in fomenting insurrection in the kingdom of Naples; some thought, that a portion of the money went also to Genoa.

On the 6th of March, Mazzini for the first time entered the Hall of the Assembly, amidst general plaudits from the members and the public. In token of peculiar honour, he was invited by the President to sit by his side; and he pronounced the following words:

"Were accounts to be kept between us, the tokens of approbation and affection you have rendered me, my Colleagues, ought to pass from me to you, not from you to me; for all the little good that I have sought to do, not done, came to me from Rome. Rome was ever for me a kind of

talisman. As a youth I studied Italian history, and found that while in all other countries nations sprang up and grew, recited their part in the world, and then fell to rise no more in their pristine strength, one only city was endowed by God with power to die and then rise again loftier than before, to fulfil in the world a mission loftier than it fulfilled before. I saw rise first the Rome of the Emperors; by conquest it stretched from the extreme of Africa to the extreme of Asia; I saw this Rome perish, wiped out by the barbarians, by those whom the world calls barbarians, to this day. I saw her rise anew after she had spurned them from her, and reproduce from her tomb the germ of civilisation; nay, I saw she rose grander than ever for a march of conquest not by arms, but by speech; she rose in the name of the Popes to renew her mighty mission. In my heart I said, it cannot be but that a city which, alone of all cities, has enjoyed two periods of might, the last transcending the first, should yet have a third. Following the Rome which wrought by military conquest, following the Rome which wrought by conquest of persuasion, will come, I whispered to myself, will come the Rome that shall work by the energy of example; following the Rome of the Emperors, the Rome of the Popes, will come the Rome of the People. And the Rome of the People has arisen. From the Rome of the People I here address you; greet me not with plaudits, let us bless one another.

"I can promise you nothing of myself, except my concurrence in whatever you shall do for the weal of Italy and Rome; for the weal of humankind in Italy. We shall, perhaps, have more than one sharp crisis to traverse: we may have to fight an holy battle against the single enemy that threatens us, against Austria. We will fight her: we will conquer her. I trust that, please God, the stranger shall never again have to say that which to this day he oftentimes repeats, in reference to our affairs, that this blaze from Rome is an *ignis fatuus*, a gleam that flits from tomb to tomb. No, the worlds hall see it is a Star, everlasting, brilliant, pure, even

as those which glow in our Italian sky. I will no longer delay the business of the Assembly."

The usual phrases, the wonted formula: the Rome of the People replaces the Rome of the Popes and the Rome of Cæsars, to give Italy unity and freedom, and to renovate mankind. It is a vague, almost a mystic formula, as all Mazzini's are. That he has no well-defined system, religious, social, or political, is untrue; for steady, nay dogged, he is in this one proposition, that Italy must become a single State, with Rome for her capital, through the medium of a revolution, a war, and a democracy. In theology he is a Deist, a Pantheist, and a Rationalist, by turns; or a compound of all. He might seem a Christian, but none can tell whether Catholic or Protestant, or of what denomination. At one time he appeared in every thing to copy La Mennais; another man without a system. He was not always a Republican, or did not show it, at any rate when in 1832 he invited King Charles Albert to act the Liberator. If Republican he were, it was a strange kind of Republic that he fancied, when in 1847 he exhorted Pius IX. "to have faith," and thought him capable of every national, nay humanitarian, effort. At another time he wrote against the theories of what is called Socialism: then, when the wheel went round, he concocted a fresh Essay, and allied with the Socialists of all nations. I consider Mazzini to be altogether a man of mediocrity, but he is a real genius in point of tenacity, along with unbounded pride under a modest and lowly aspect;

he is of good morals, liberal, kind, most considerate to his friends, with a great gift of wheedling, and with a headstrong temperament amidst the universal debility of this generation. Amidst the vices of many of his followers, he is virtuous: his language is easy, imaginative, insinuating; he has fantastic notions, which the vulgar take for sublimity; he has pity for the vices, nay too much also for the enormities, of his devotees, and he is always warm in the protection of an associate. His habits and ways are democratic; nay he is an idolater of the people, whom, in heaven and earth, he puts on a level with God. Such, if I mistake not, are the sources of his power. There is also the concise formula, which hoodwinks the simple, for they think everything concise is easy, which it is not; since the configuration of society is composed like that of the individual and of human nature; and in politics such maxims, as adapt themselves to the organic processes that modify human society under the action of time and of civilisation, are good ones; not such as arrogate mastery over history and time, habit and nature. He talks much of an apostolate and a priesthood, and in fact he has the nature of a priest more than of a statesman: he, too, can see nothing in Italy but his own clique; he wants to tether the world to the round of his one, eternal, immutable idea. What should he care for the woes of mankind! All who suffer for, all who die in, Mazzini, are martyrs; they are not merely inscribed in the register of the free citizens of Italy, it is the martyrology of the Mazzinian Faith which claims them. What are years, what are genera-

tions, in the reckoning of the eternal idea? He knows he is to triumph; nay, he seems to know it straight from God: it is a saint, it is one inspired, who speaks; he curses and prays, he blesses and hurls anathema, he is Pontiff, Prince, Apostle, Priest. Well, the clergy are off; and in Rome he is now at home.

While there, he applied himself with all his might to force Tuscany, from that quarter, into the "unification" for which she was not at all minded; and he spread it there, that all the Tuscans wished it, though he knew the contrary; he argued and strove for its enactment; the *fiat* pronounced at Rome, in the name of God and the people, being enough for him. The Prince of Canino had taken up Mazzini, because he was then the pet of the excited multitude, and because, for one who only wanted rattles, he was the noisiest to be had. This Prince of Canino, who will plume himself even upon ignorance when by such means he can tickle the palates of the ignorant, wants to destroy in a second, barriers, frontiers, custom-houses, and so to unify; and takes no heed, that he is only unifying misery: he means to make people stare, and laughs, perhaps, in his sleeve, while he is speaking with emphasis and pomp; those laugh at any rate who hear him, and know that it is all acting. The Assembly, however, simply decided on sending three Deputies to Tuscany as Commissioners for the unification; and selected Guiccioli, to console him for the ministerial portfolio he had lost; Camerata, who had descended from his seat in the *Giunta* of State to be the silent member for Ancona on the benches

of the centre; and Gabussi, an adept of the Clubs and the Sects, to whose savage ambition they had to give a sop, or at any rate a play-thing, that he might not vent himself upon Rome: they afterwards added Ciceruacchio and others of the commons, to get up a spectacle for the mob. But the Commissioners of the Assembly made no way at the Palazzo Vecchio, while Ciceruacchio caused mirth out of doors: Guiccioli went off to Venice, as Envoy of the Republic of Rome; the rest returned home; and Tuscany continued Tuscan, a gentle land, where the hurricane of revolution hardly raised the dust upon its face. The idea of an Italian Constituent, in the name of which, from Leghorn to Rome, so much had been subverted, never could be brought to effect, either by the energy of the inventors of that tool, or by the sagacity of the new rulers of Rome and Tuscany. It had been propounded to the Roman Assembly that, under a decree of the late provisional autocracy, they were to hold that the organising virtue and mind of Italy had been transfused by the Sovereign People into their own body; and accordingly a bill was introduced, under which this virtue and mind were again to migrate from the entire Assembly, and take flesh in the persons of sixty members only, the sixty who should obtain the largest numbers of votes. Always the philosophy of the multiplication-table, only a little more complex! With this came big words about the omnipotence of the said Sovereign People, and the universality of the organic virtue in the popular suffrage, superlative refinements and crotchets on the nature and compre-

hensiveness of their powers, and other such sophistry, which I shall leave to be unravelled by those who understand it. It is, however, a fact, that Grillenzoni, a well-known physician of Ferrara, and an excellent citizen, whose business it was to scrutinise the plan, and, as it is called, to report upon the bill introduced, was of opinion that they must convene the electoral colleges afresh, in order to choose deputies for the Italian Constituent Assembly. The ministers Rusconi and Saffi, on the other hand, defended the bill on the table; while Audinot thought, and rightly, that at the moment when our arms were being burnished in Upper Italy for the national war, it was out of place to quibble about a Constituent: both right and left, the opinions were various and conflicting; at last the bill was rejected, and it was carried to convene the electoral bodies anew. But convened they never were.

A keen and boisterous discussion occupied the Assembly, just as if it were dealing with a political argument, at a sitting with closed doors, about striking coin called *coppery;* that is to say, coin with a base alloy, to bear a nominal value. The warmer Republicans held, that there lay the real treasure-house of the Republic; so they suspected any one of treason against her, who might question the excellence of such measures; and they could not stomach the adverse opinion on the right, where sat the members most versed in economical subjects. Accordingly the Ministry received authority to coin 1,000,000 crowns of this base metal, of which the intrinsic value was to

be two-fifths of the nominal; that is to say, money three-fifths counterfeit.

The Assembly had determined, that means should be taken to restrain and punish the political assassins, and had enacted that they should be tried by a form of process more expeditious than that in common use. Saffi, Minister of the Interior, published a Proclamation complaining bitterly of the offences against the property and lives of the citizens, and holding up the perpetrators to infamy and to the resentment of all respectable persons. It contained the following passages: —

"The Government of the Republic imposes sacrifices, but will have them imposed by itself; under fixed laws; of the extent necessary to replenish the exhausted finances, but no more, and without infringement of the sacrosanct rights of property: it desires that conspirators should be detected and chastised, but by its own act and with a regular trial.

"Every illegality or violence against persons or possessions, every antisocial movement of citizen against citizen, every deed bearing the character of political revenge, is an execrable relic of times which the priestly despotism polluted, and on which the Republic has closed the volume of the past for ever.

"The bloodstained crimes, which are now perpetrated in various places (happily but very few) of the State, and which lamentably disturb the general and wondrous concurrence of an entire people in the work of its own redemption, are a villanous wrong to the purity of republican principles. By their means the idea, virgin and august, that now soars from the Capitol, is draggled in the mire: owing to them, the new covenant of love and mercy, sworn in Rome by the genuine believers in the future of humanity, is profaned; the processes of life, and the harmony of freedom, are awfully crushed and trodden down.

"The Constituent Assembly, and the Government it has created, declare, by my mouth, that the perpetrators of these scandals are traitors to their country and parricides of the Republic; and they will study by the most vigorous measures to prevent either such enormities, or any other offence against the new political arrangements, and the national honour, from being committed. In this the Republic summons to her aid the active and fearless co-operation of all citizens, who are indiscriminately bound in duty to watch over the secure and perfect development of the social relation.

"Citizens! National Guard! Carabineers! All ye soldiers who wear with honour the ensigns of the Republic! two precious deposits are confided to your hands; the State, to be defended against the invader from without; and internal order, which means the civilisation of your country, to be upheld."

Nor was it only by this public statement, that Saffi applied himself to the repression and punishment of the crimes, which had terrified certain cities of the State; for he wrote to the Presidents, both officially and privately, to stir them up to strict and determined proceedings. The Province of Ravenna had for its Governor Count Francesco Laderchi of Faenza, a person alike fixed in the love of liberty and independence, and in the moderation of his opinions; and no less courteous and refined, than endowed with courage in all its forms. Saffi thus wrote to him privately about the assassinations of Imola: —

"I am profoundly grieved: here is a frightful sore, with which it is absolutely necessary to deal. I perceive the enormous difficulty of all government, in the face of so horrible a gangrene of society in certain places. Come to an understanding with the Presidents of the nearest Provinces: support one another, but for God's sake take care that the

social existence of those most unhappy districts may in some manner or other be protected. The Government has done every thing that it could in the way of exceptional powers, plenary discretion, and the rest, to conquer the evil as far as possible. I rely entirely upon you, and upon the disposition of all the good, who will doubtless aid you in this sacred charge."

Laderchi bestirred himself, and made exertions worthy of his honoured name: he took to Imola by night a select body of townsmen, and with them, and the few carabineers he could muster, he arrested unawares that gang of ferocious assassins which had taken the name of the "big horde." He then issued a Proclamation, in which, after pointing out the newly enacted laws of summary procedure, he spoke thus: —

"Through these laws, the persons who for some time, and in so many savage ways, have kept the city from Imola in affliction, will be at length overtaken by justice; and from this you may rest assured, that the Government is determined to punish at all hazards the disturbers of public order. Let, then, the recent arrests at Imola give confidence to all good citizens, who, henceforward relying on the efficacy of union and the support of Government, should not let the audacity of a few scoundrels strike them with a discreditable panic."

The Minister Saffi further addressed to Laderchi this language of encouragement: —

"I cannot sufficiently express to you my acknowledgments for the generous, energetic, and valuable co-operation which in your Province you are affording to the Government: and I am grateful to you all the more, in proportion as our Romagna is peculiarly dear to me. The grief, with which I am pierced at witnessing the sores of Imola and a few other spots

in the Province, is consoled by the hope of a speedy remedy, and by the full confidence that your ability, your attachment to the public interest and to public virtue, and your practical acquaintance with the district, will admirably qualify you to administer it."

In Rome, too, the Government appeared to do its very best, considering the times and its own position, in curbing the ill-disposed; and Meucci, the Director of Police, both stopped certain acts of outrage and took measures to correct and punish those who, under the plea of the public interest, violated the domicile of peaceful citizens, and rummaged the interiors, or even committed rapine.

While, however, such was the state of affairs in the Roman territories, King Charles Albert put an end to the truce with Austria. General Colli was of opinion, that neither the army nor the country were fit for war; and, aware of the anxiety of France and England to prevent it, he had resigned his office as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Buonaparte, the President of the Republic, had dispatched General Pelet to Charles Albert to recommend taking time to negotiate; and after him M. Mercier, Secretary of Embassy, with the like commission. But now that Central Italy was given over to the Republic, which, both from its nature, and of set purpose, was working against the monarchies; and now that the Chamber of Deputies, with the Ministers, would not brook with patience any longer delay, the King would yield to no advice that could tend to tarnish his fame, resolved as he was upon the last sacrifices for the cause of Italian independence. He was sustained, if not by

his hopes, yet by the assurance that he would save his own honour, with that of Piedmont and of the monarchy. Accordingly, on the 12th of March at noon, he renounced the truce; and, the next day, Counsellor De-Ferrari, a distinguished Magistrate, who had been raised at that crisis to the post of President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed a manifesto, in the name of the Sardinian Government, to the nations of civilised Europe, in which, after a concise narration of the recent events in the Peninsula, and after demonstrating the determined perfidy of Austria and the rights of Italy, he averred that Piedmont was taking up her arms once more, with her high-minded King and his valiant sons, to avenge the afflictions of their country, to emancipate the portion of it which was in the stranger's grasp, to succour heroic Venice, and to establish Italian independence.

M. Mercier, the French Envoy, after having found Charles Albert at the camp, immovable in the resolution to try anew the chance of arms, had repaired to Gaeta, to carry to the French Envoys there, and to the Papal Court, such recommendations and plans as were thought likely to facilitate a restoration. When first the warlike intentions of Piedmont became known at Gaeta, a criminal joy appeared in some, a cowardly dissimulation in others; and hypocritical wishes might be heard along with mistrustful sighs. Of the whole Papal Court, Pius IX. alone, weary by this time of all the diplomatic chicanery, and susceptible moreover of something like an Italian feeling, seemed for a moment to wish victory for Italy. Meanwhile, the mere

announcement of the impending struggle begot new delay in the conferences and arrangements projected at Gaeta, made even the most impetuous doubtful and slack, and furnished M. D'Harcourt with an opportunity of suggesting, or of reviving, some plan of a restoration through the agency of the national and constitutional party in the Roman States. Accordingly he sent M. Mercier to Rome with instructions to ascertain the feelings and ask the advice of the leading men of that party, as well as to wait upon the persons in power, and acquaint them of the real state of affairs, of the desire of Europe for the prompt re-establishment of the Papal Throne, and of the intention to have it by force, unless the rulers of Rome, better advised, should determine upon saving liberty by invoking such mediation as might secure it. M. Mercier had an interview with Armellini, who, whether from stupidity or recklessness, seemed neither to believe in the impending dangers, nor to appreciate the gravity of the juncture. He went to Mamiani, too, with a letter from M. D'Harcourt, who, in the name of France, besought of him the counsel and co-operation of the constitutional party in re-establishing the constitutional Throne. For neither D'Harcourt nor Mercier at that time raised any doubt as to the authority of the Fundamental Statute; indeed Mercier averred that Cardinal Antonelli took offence if others presumed to doubt it. Mamiani called into council some friends, and then replied in writing to M. D'Harcourt. He began by a censure upon "the intention to exclude by violence three millions of men from the universal right of self-disposal, and of living

under such civil government as they might prefer;" and by declaring that this interference of Foreign Powers was "a new and melancholy humiliation for unhappy Italy, as well as a fresh aggravation of the temporal dominion of the Popes." But, since D'Harcourt asseverated, that at all hazards an armed foreign intervention would take place, Mamiani went on to say that undoubtedly "French intervention would be the lesser evil; for the Austrians were abhorred, the Spaniards were in disrepute, and the Neapolitans, although not foreigners, met with hatred and suspicion on account of ill recollections they had left in Rome, and of the deplorable character of King Ferdinand." Then, by way of avoiding the shame and the certain mischief of foreign force, and of preventing the restoration from entailing a fatal reaction, Mamiani advised "that France, in the name of the other Catholic Powers, and her own, should announce to the world in a very lucid and explicit manifesto; (1.) That an intervention was certain and unavoidable; (2.) That she guaranteed to the whole Roman people the liberal institutions adapted to the epoch and enacted in the Fundamental Statute; (3.) That the Powers, and France in particular, invited the Constitutionalists and the Civic Guard to interpose between the two extreme parties, and to give effect to the inevitable change in an orderly and peaceable manner." M. Mercier then returned to Gaeta, but left a promise that France would act as the advocate of constitutional rights; and said he would come back to Rome as soon as any decision had been taken in the Conferences. At this juncture the Ministry of

Piedmont sent Lorenzo Valerio as their Envoy to the Governments of Tuscany and Rome, to request succours for the war of independence. At Florence, he found the Government piqued because General La Marmora had, in pursuance of his orders, marched his troops across the districts, which had before been Modenese, and were then annexed to Tuscany: but he contrived to mitigate their resentment, and obtained a promise of succour for the national struggle. The rulers of Tuscany, however, were neither friendly to Piedmont, nor able to give efficient aid; and possibly they engaged for more than they had either will or power to accomplish. Valerio then went from Florence to Bologna, as commissioners for Rome and Venice were expected there, who were to discuss some plan of joint attack upon the common enemy; but as nobody was forthcoming except those for Tuscany, he proceeded expeditiously towards Ancona, where the Piedmontese squadron had not yet received official notice of the expiration of the truce. Lastly, he repaired to Rome, and there recommended harmony among political parties, and the national enterprise; giving assurances that the Sardinian Government was wholly intent upon it, and pointing out, that it was an inconsiderate proceeding to split, and to dispute about political forms at the very moment when they should have been using their utmost efforts to recover the primary and paramount right of independence. Nor did Valerio seem to court more at Rome the Republican party now in the ascendant, than the Constitutional, which was worried with hatred and suspicions; for indeed he paid these latter, inferior to none in

their fervour on behalf of the national cause, every sort of attention, and arranged that they should, by all the applications in their power, procure assistance for the war. But neither was the Government prepared, nor would all the Republicans join hands with Piedmont; on the contrary, some of the most rabid sneered at the "King's war," retailed shabby calumnies against Charles Albert, and lighted up the public mind with the firebrand of dissension, not with the sacred flame of national freedom. Though there may not be many personal witnesses to this assertion, the proof of it is to be found in the very records of the Assembly, which show that those who sat on the right desired to confine themselves to sending soldiers in aid of high-minded Piedmont, and that, on the contrary, some members on the left, thorough-going Republicans, were of the opposite opinion. At the sitting on the 19th of March, they named a Commission of War; and upon going to the vote, Giusti, Pisacane, Cerroti, Carducci, and Maubege, proved to be the persons chosen. The President then read the Proclamation, in which Buffa announced to the Genoese the new struggle for independence; and the Assembly, with the galleries, uttered shouts of applause. Cernuschi interrupted the reading of it, by crying, impetuously, "Is a war for Italy to be waged, and Rome to know nothing of it?" Ercolani now had his generous spirit stirred, and sprang from his seat, exclaiming, "We will go ourselves, and then we shall know of the war, when we are in the field!" Then, after the reading of the Proclamation by Buffa had ended, and the loudest plaudits had been repeated, Cernuschi re-

sumed: "Citizens! remember that the 19th of February was the day fixed for La Marmora's entry into Sarzana, and that on that day Haynau entered Ferrara." Stupid malignity! But Audinot, with warm emotion, conjured the Assembly to unite cordially for the holy purpose of carrying on the sacred war, while Saffi spoke, in prudent and appropriate language, to a similar effect. At the sitting of the 18th, even Mazzini spoke effectively in recommending an universal union of intention in the idea of the war of independence, and in enthusiasm for it. He said they must not think any more about forms of government; that there were now but two classes of Italians in Italy, "those who were for the war of independence, and for the emancipation of the Italian soil from the Austrians; and those who were not in favour of that war . . . . Republican Rome would fight at the same moment and in the same rank with monarchical Piedmont." And he advised them to get money and arms. Some ladies who attended the discussion on that day, stripped off their valuables, and flung them on the floor, as an offering to their country. On the 22nd, the following Proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of the Republic, and framed by Audinot, received the approbation of the Assembly:—

"The Italian cannon, the Voice of battle and of deliverance, once more thunders on the plains of Lombardy. To arms! To arms!

"It is a time for deeds, not words. The battalions of the Republic will combat side by side with those of the Sub-

alpine and other Italian States: let there be among them no contention, save in valour and in sacrifice. Cursed be he, who, in this final struggle, would sever brother from brother!

"From the Alps to the sea, there is no real independence, no freedom, as long as this consecrated land is trampled by the Austrian.

"Your country asks of you arms and men. Rise and answer to the call. To arms! and life to Italy!"

It is an holy sentiment, and an holy cry, that of national independence; and it ever will have power to stir every free Italian soul, and influence to assuage if not to extinguish the accursed dissensions, the most degrading among all the degrading ills of our heritage of servitude. This power and influence it possessed, even in those days, at Rome; evincing the consciousness of an imprescriptible right, sprung from God, even as His perfect justice is. For independence is freedom, and freedom is justice, and justice is God: and in every people there resides eternally a divine right to drive the stranger from their soil. I have said it long ago, and I would shiver my very pen had I not spirit to reassert it now, that the insolence and threats of strangers, and the miseries of Italy, have increased and are increasing. The time may be a question, nay it ought to be one; and the enterprise of independence should not be hazarded in default of opportunity and of forces duly organised; but still, Italians ought to keep both spirit and understanding incessantly intent upon it: some day it must be theirs; and may Heaven prosper even their temerity!

Rome was not so joyous in March 1849 as she had been one year before, when a Benediction that sprang from the sentiment of nationality impelled all Italy towards their sacred Alps; yet even now the restoring energy was felt, countenances contracted with displeasure opened into calm, hands a while before hostile were in friendly clasp, gloomy misgivings were expelled by a common hope, smouldering anger between brothers was concentrated on the foreign oppressor, and thus was hallowed Constitutionalist and Republican embraced, and made ready to march as comrades to the Lombard plains. Valerio exerted himself to reanimate every generous idea, and rivet the new-born concord; at banquets and social assemblies, in the face of the rulers of Rome and of hot Republicans, he paid honour to his Sovereign, to the Princes and the whole dynasty of Savoy, to his own Piedmont; and invoked for them a destiny worthy of their prowess and of their magnanimous perseverance. Oh! let the Italian reader pause, let him pause with me, upon this momentary recollection of the renewal of that shout for the Holy War; let him rein in his thoughts hurrying on to the catastrophe. Before he bewails it, let him shed tears with me over that stress, that exultation, that daring hope, with which we all throbbed yet once in March of 1849. We all once more felt ourselves better men; love of our country purged our souls from every meaner emotion, from all our resentful spleen; we every one felt worthy of the godlike land of our nativity, and we made an oath of affection to one another, of war against the stranger. We remember, we still re-

member those gleams of joy, of hope, of consecrated resentment: still will that recollection control our spirits in our new dissensions; it will ennoble us afresh, will inspire us with the hope of new union, new agreement, will invigorate us for the new occasions that cannot fail to come. But those gleams *were*: my story now brings sombre images before me. Before I paint them, once more I cry, God bless the independence of Italy!

CHAP. V.

STATE OF THE PIEDMONTESE ARMY. — OF THE AUSTRIAN. — DISCREDITABLE PROCLAMATION OF RADETZKI.—EASTERN FRONTIER OF PIEDMONT.—PLANS AND ORDERS OF CHRZANOWSKI.—PLANS AND ORDERS OF RADETZKI. — HIS PASSAGE OF THE TICINO. — PIEDMONTESE ORDER OF BATTLE ON MARCH 21. — ACTION AT LA SFORZESCA. — ACTIONS AT MORTARA. — CONSEQUENT MEASURES AND PLANS OF CHRZANOWSKI. — PLANS AND ORDERS OF RADETZKI. — BICOCCA. — ENGAGEMENTS. — BATTLE CALLED OF NOVARA. — RETREAT UPON THE CITY; CONFUSION AND BROILS THERE.—KILLED AND WOUNDED ON THE TWO SIDES.—CHARLES ALBERT, HIS LANGUAGE AND ABDICATION. — AN ARMISTICE BETWEEN RADETZKI AND THE NEW KING. — ITS CONDITIONS. — CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF CASALE. — DEPARTURE OF CHARLES ALBERT.

After the truce of Milan, the army of Piedmont remained inactive, relaxed in discipline, and loath to resume the conflict. The Government enlarged it so greatly that by January it reached 135,000 men, but for the most part they were neither practised in arms nor kindled with a martial spirit; for the country was not disposed to an early renewal of the war. The skeletons, which are the foundation of the army, originally rather bare, were now more so. The petty officers, as well as the officers, were ignorant of, and unknown by, the men; the veteran commanders were not esteemed, the new ones had not been heard of; the infantry, swelled in number, had declined in quality;

the artillery was capital, but scanty; there was a lack of light horse, the staff was indifferent, the commissariat and hospitals ill-organised. Of the 135,000 men borne on the roll, 100,000 only could be brought into action; and deducting the sick and the untrained we could reckon only 85,000, in seven divisions (besides two separate brigades), and 156 guns. The two gallant sons of the King were Generals of Division; with Perrone, a veteran soldier of freedom, distinguished in the French army, and in the recent Italian war; Bes, whose valorous deeds had won him rank and honours; Alfonso La Marmora, the most daring and most vigorous of the younger commanders; Giovanni Durando, who had led the Roman troops into Venezia; and lastly Ramorino, who in 1831 had fought in Poland, had earned a sorry name in Mazzini's expedition into Savoy, and had since lived in exile with an ill reputation, until the convulsions of 1848 raised him from his abject state, and the political clubs got him to the head of the Lombard Division, numbering 8000 or 9000 men. King Charles Albert had modestly given up the command in chief; but as Piedmont had no general deemed worthy of it, and as the French Republic did not choose to present Italy even with a captain, the choice fell upon the Pole Chrzanowski. He was modest in disposition, stunted in person, unacquainted with our tongue and manners, instructed in the art of war, but neither watchful nor energetic, nor resolute, in the degree requisite for a commander-in-chief.

The Austrian army was composed of 100,000 men

in round numbers; and could bring 90,000 into the field; its baggage much curtailed since the last war; the artillery far less good than the Piedmontese, but also far more numerous, giving about three guns for each thousand men, while we had scarcely two; their cavalry again was inferior, yet better suited to the operations of a war like this, because nearly all light; the staff, commissariat, and hospitals, admirable. The five corps of this army were commanded by Generals Wratislaw, D'Aspre, Appel, Thurn, and Wocher; and the whole by Radetzki, aged fourscore. When the truce ended, he printed a discreditable Proclamation, in which he charged the war upon the criminal ambition of Charles Albert, and the bad passions of the Italians. Thus it is not enough to oppress; they must calumniate. Some day they may expiate in servitude their injustice; when conquered and divided, then they will appreciate the right to independence. May the Almighty so ordain, may Italians so think and resolve!

"For Turin! for Turin!" cried Radetzki to his troops; and marched them towards the frontier, while the Piedmontese were making for the Ticino. The eastern frontier of Piedmont, towards the Duchies and Lombardy, extends, crossing the Appennines and Alps, from the Mediterranean to Switzerland, and is cut by the Po into two divisions. The one, contained between the river and the sea, is exceeding strong both by nature and by art; Genoa, Alessandria, and Valenza form a military line covered by the Appennine and by sundry streams, the Bormida, the Scrivia,

the Tidone, the Trebbia; Genoa rests on the sea, Valenza on the Po, Alessandria betwixt. Alessandria closes the narrow valley of the Tanaro, which severs the Appennine from the hilly district upon the Po. Situated at the confluence of the Tanaro and Bormida, at the point of junction for nearly all the routes leading from the Po to the Mediterranean, it is the gate, and one might say the key, to the whole of the communications with the right bank. But on the left bank, from the river Lago Maggiore and the Alps, Piedmont is exposed; the Ticino is a feeble barrier, the other streams yet feebler; there is no fortress, and Turin lies uncovered.

The Piedmontese army pointed towards the Duchies, Milan, and the Mincio; that of Austria towards Turin. To get into Lombardy, Chrzanowski designed to cross the Ticino by the bridge of Buffalora, and take the road leading from Novara to Milan; but, fearing lest Radetzki should throw himself into Piedmont, he did not venture on advancing fearlessly, and he halted on the Ticino, to act offensively or defensively as events might serve. Radetzki, on the other hand, meant to defend himself by the offensive. The Piedmontese Division under Alfonso La Marmora, from Sarzana, took the direction of Parma. One of the two separate Brigades called of the Van, was posted at Castel San Giovanni, on the right bank of the Po, to watch Piacenza, and compel the enemy to maintain there a force sufficient for guarding the passage of the river. The entire remainder of the army lay along the Ticino from Oleggio to La Cava,

with a preponderance of strength about the road from Novara to Milan. Between Novara and the Ticino there were five Divisions; the remaining Brigade, under General Solaroli, was on the left towards Oleggio; and the remaining Division towards Pavia, near which the Ticino flows into the Po.

Radetzki left one *corps d' armée* for the Mincio and Adige, and in Venezia; besides 10,000 men to garrison the fortified towns of Milan, Brescia, Bergamo, Modena, and Piacenza, with the bridge-head of Brescello. He then moved the five corps above mentioned with such dispatch, that, on the night of the 19th of March, he had concentrated them all upon Pavia. He had no lack of spies. Our newspapers did his work without knowing it, and the political clubs still better. He formed his resolution to dash in from Pavia, turn the line of our army, cut off the force that was on the right bank of the Po, and, attacking the main mass with impetuosity, to stake all upon a battle. Early on the 20th, he flung his bridges over, and at noon D'Aspre's corps passed the Ticino without encountering opposition; because Ramorino, who had orders to garrison La Cava and guard the Gravellone, which is a loop of the Po forming an islet in front of Pavia, had remained on the right bank about Casatisma and had sent only four battalions across to the left; one towards Zerbolò, one to La Cava, and two to Mezzanacorte to hold the bridge. The first of these, cut off from Mezzanacorte, retired in confusion upon Mortara; the second from La Cava, which had got near the Gra-

vellone, after a short skirmish fell back towards Mezzanacorte. D'Aspre advanced upon Garlasco, followed by Appel, while Wratislaw on the right marched for Zerbolò, and Thurn, who had been the fourth to cross, inclined to the left towards La Cava, dispatching a brigade to Mezzanacorte, which drove the three Piedmontese battalions back to the right bank. The corps in reserve likewise crossed the same day, except a brigade that remained at Pavia as a rearguard, and a second that was only to reach it on the 22nd. Thus, on the night of the 20th, the entire Austrian army of 70,000 men with 200 guns, was on Piedmontese ground, with its right near Zerbolò, its centre fronting Groppello, its left upon La Cava, and the reserve across the Gravellone. One brigade of Wratislaw's corps had staid at Magenta to keep the Piedmontese at arms' length; and had orders to descend rapidly towards Bereguardo so as to pass the Ticino on the 21st.

On the morning of that day, the five Divisions, with which Chrzanowski intended to cross or defend the river, were in the following order of battle. The Duke of Genoa foremost, at Trecate, with an advanced guard near the bridge of Buffalora; Perrone on the left at Romentino and Galliate; Bes on the right at Cerano and Cassolnovo; Durando also on the right but towards the rear, round Vespolate; the Duke of Savoy, with the reserve, near Novara on the road to Mortara; the Brigade of Solaroli on the extreme left between Oleggio and Bellinzago, communicating with the Division of Perrone by means of four battalions,

with one regiment of foot, and one of horse, belonging to the reserve, placed at Cameri. Lastly, the Lombard Division, under the command of Ramorino, was to have been at La Cava, to ascertain the strength of the enemy in its front; if this were not found too great, then to gain possession of Pavia on the morning of the 21st, and forthwith to take the Lodi road; if then the Austrians should attack in force from Pavia, he was to give battle, falling back on Mortara or S. Nazzaro, from whence he might easily effect his junction with the main army, which, upon hearing the guns, would march in the direction of the sound by two parallel roads between Trumello and Mortara. But Ramorino, as I have stated, was not at La Cava; he kept beyond the Po, and left the orders of the Commander-in-chief unfulfilled.

At noon, the Duke of Genoa's Division was by the bridge of Buffalora; no enemy was in sight, no cannon-shots heard on the side of Pavia. As Chrzanowski wanted to explore in the direction of Magenta, Charles Albert led the way across, with a company of sharpshooters: nothing, however, was seen, except a few of the enemy's horse in retreat a long way off. Badly informed, and without any decisive plans, the General-in-chief left the Duke of Genoa at Magenta, repassed the Ticino with the king and with his staff, sent back to its first position the Division of Perrone, which had moved forward to the bridge, and returned to Trecate, where at nine in the evening he learned from a staff-officer of Bes, that Ramorino had disobeyed orders, and that the Austrian army

had crossed the Ticino, and collected towards Pavia. Accordingly, during the night, he ordered Durando to Mortara, and Bes to Vigevano; at daybreak he put the Duke of Savoy, Perrone, the Duke of Genoa, and Solaroli, all in motion: he summoned Ramorino to head-quarters to answer for his disobedience, and placed the Lombard Division in charge of General Fanti, but without any precise orders. Durando reached Mortara about dawn, and the Duke of Savoy came up to him past noon. Bes also was at Vigevano very early, and halting at La Sforzesca placed a vanguard at Borgo San Siro to keep the passage of the Ticino at Bereguardo; but, unaware that Durando was at Mortara, he dispatched Casale's Brigade in the direction of Fogliano, while he sent out for information about the enemy's movements, and awaited the Divisions of Perrone and the Duke of Genoa. The Savoy Brigade, forming part of Perrone's Division, arrived about eleven with the King and Chrzanowski; who posted in reserve near La Sforzesca a regiment of Bes's Division, and a separate force, with horse and artillery attached, on the road to Gambolò. Perrone's second Brigade, and the Duke of Genoa's Division, only reached Vigevano at six in the evening, from delay in the delivery of rations, and other impediments.

The Austrians were on the march to Mortara, with an ulterior view to Vercelli or Novara, according to the manœuvring of the Piedmontese. D'Aspre and Appel, with the reserve, took the road to Garlasco; Thurn on the left advanced upon S. Giorgio; Wratis-

law, on the right, by the Zerbolò road towards Gambolò, moving one legion upon Vigevano. About one, it reached Borgo S. Siro, where was the Piedmontese van; and this, supported by Strassoldo's Brigade, which arrived almost at the same moment, commenced the attack. The Piedmontese, extremely weak in numbers, were strong in courage, and they fought while retiring in good order towards La Sforzesca, whither Bes, after learning that Durando was at Mortara, had recalled Casale's Brigade. But although this did not arrive in time, and the Austrians were superior in numbers, La Sforzesca was so admirably defended, that the enemy, twice repulsed at the point of the bayonet by the 17th and 23rd regiments of foot, and thrown into disorder by the horse, retreated, and left a large number of prisoners. Bes pursued them at a distance, until on meeting Gorger's Brigade, which had passed the Ticino at Bereguardo and come in aid of the fugitives, he was obliged to withdraw. During this interval Wratislaw had reached Gambolò; and at evening he had sent a legion to attack the Piedmontese on the road to Vigevano; but they gallantly repulsed it. In that quarter, then, the contest was carried on to an advantage. Not so at Mortara. Chrzanowski had not given clear and certain orders either to Durando or to the Duke of Savoy. The first he had only desired to take up a defensive position in front of Mortara, and the second, to cover on the right the Division of Durando and the town. But as he subsequently designed to defend and to man the line of

the Roggia-Birago Canal, from the mills of Faenza as far as S. Albano, and likewise the positions of Garbana and Remondo, he dispatched General Alessandro La Marmora, the chief of his staff, from Trecate to Mortara, to order the Divisions of Durando and the Duke of Savoy to cover the city by taking up a position between the roads to Garlasco and to S. Giorgio, stretching on the one side to Faenza and on the other to Castel d'Agogna; and lastly, to place themselves in communication with the troops of Bes by the line of Fogliano, and with head-quarters by the great road to Vigevano. It is said that even these fresh orders of Chrzanowski were but indistinct: at any rate they reached Mortara only at one in the afternoon, when the troops of Durando were at their meal. At three they set out, but did not get far, because the scouts of the enemy were already visible towards Gambolò, Trumello, and S. Giorgio. They then extended their line of battle from the cemetery of the town to the Convent of Sant Albino. The Brigade Aosta to the left rested on the cemetery, and the Brigade Queen to the right on the Convent, each consisting of four battalions in line and two in reserve: their artillery, of sixteen guns, they placed as they best could on such disadvantageous ground: the horse on the left of the cemetery, over against the city. The Duke of Savoy's Division, arriving between two and three, halted on the right of Mortara, and extended itself as far as Castel d'Agogna by the line of the new mill, which had been made defensible. This Division had thirty-two guns, twenty-

four in the centre and at the extremities of the line, eight in reserve behind the town and near the Novara road: the Guards' Brigade was on the right, and kept Castel d'Agogna; the Brigade Cuneo, with its right on the new mill, had its left above 100 yards off; one regiment of cavalry was behind the Guards' Brigade, the other in reserve, to the right of the Novara road.

The day was well advanced, and the roar of cannon audible towards Vigevano, when, at half-past four, the scouts hastily announced the proximity of the enemy. It was the corps of D'Aspre, composed of the Divisions of Archduke Albert and of Schaaffgotsche, about 15,000 men with eight and forty guns, who were advancing by the Garlasco road, preceded by their horse and sharpshooters. D'Aspre, whose orders were to carry Mortara and march on, upon falling in with the Piedmontese, although it was near sunset, drew up in battle array. He threw forward the Division of Archduke Albert in attacking columns along each side of the road, sent one or two battalions towards the cemetery and the convent, and kept the rest in reserve. The battle began with a round from twenty-four guns placed at the head of these columns of attack, opposite to the centre of Durando's Division, and to an eminence where Durando himself with the Duke of Savoy and La Marmora stood, exposed to imminent risk, to set a good example to the troops. The Piedmontese artillery was thin at that point, and that of the enemy made havock of the Brigade Queen, which, being impetuously attacked just at

nightfall, faced about and retired into the town, where there was great confusion. The townsfolk fled: the waggons, guns, and other baggage of the army clogged the streets. Colonel Benedech made his entry, Piedmontese and Austrians fighting promiscuously. Colonel Trotti wanted to march with a battalion into the fray, but was obliged to retire by the Novara road. Durando sent the Brigade Aosta in aid; and one battalion with two squadrons of horse and a couple of guns threw themselves into the place. They were surrounded, and a portion of the foot laid down their arms; but the cavalry charging the enemy with great vehemence and singular prowess, overthrew every thing in their way, and brought out safely the rest of the foot and the guns. The commander of the Brigade made no new attempt to recover the town, and withdrew by the Novara road. The Duke of Savoy likewise ventured a daring effort within Mortara, but one of no avail. Yet more daring was one made later by La Marmora. At the moment of the attack which turned the flank of the Piedmontese centre, the battalion at S. Albino had lost the convent, which it retook, and lost once more. La Marmora, reaching the spot, gathered a few broken troops, and resolved on attempting S. Albino. But, in the darkness, friend and foe could not be discriminated, and our men fought against their own comrades in retreat. On discovering their error, they proceeded to engage the enemy and hinder his advance. It was eight in the evening, and La Marmora received news that the Austrians were masters of

Mortara. His troops were in extreme jeopardy where he stood. To open a passage, he resolved on throwing himself into Mortara, and making for the Novara road. He formed his men in column, put the guns in the middle, and moved upon Mortara, without apprising them that the enemy was there. The column entered the town by the gate of S. Giorgio, and found the streets encumbered with waggons and corpses: the gloom was dense, the houses all shut, the silence profound: the Austrians were taken by surprise, and gave the word "to arms." La Marmora sounded a charge, and debouched upon the square and the main street, where began an engagement or affray, a fearful chaos. For a moment the victory seemed doubtful; the daring and desperation of a handful of men, well nigh turned the tables; but Benedech justly reflected that they were a handful, and trying a desperate escape: so he mustered his men, closed every outlet, and summoned them to surrender. La Marmora wanted to resist, or, rather, to try a last effort; but his men gave way and laid down their arms, while the General, who was ever foremost, managed to escape with about fifty more, and repaired to Castel d'Agogna, where were Durando and the Duke of Savoy. The latter still desired, even at that hour, nine at night, to attack Mortara afresh. It was, perhaps, far sighted, certainly generous counsel; but the contrary opinion prevailed. In these actions on the 21st, the Piedmontese lost 500 in killed and wounded, with 2000

prisoners and five guns: the Austrians scarcely 400 in all.

Chrzanowski received the news of this unhappy event at one in the morning; and he instantly resolved to withdraw his army to Novara: a plan which he executed on the 22nd, without encountering any impediment. Radetzki too pointed towards Novara; Wratislaw's corps on the right had moved from Gambolò to Civalegna; Thurn's on the left had halted at Torre di Robbio beyond Agogna; D'Aspre had passed Vespolate, and his van was at Garbagna about five miles from Novara. Appel was a little in their rear; and the reserve was between Lavezzaro and Mortara. But the movements of the Austrians were so tardy, that they did not hinder the concentration of our force. On the 23rd, Radetzki extended his line, ordering D'Aspre and Appel, with the reserve, to advance upon Novara, Thurn to repair to Confienza, Wratislaw to set out for Vercelli by Robbio; and lastly the Brigades left at Pavia and Mezzanacorte to march to Casale. These Brigades, with the battalions remaining in Mortara, or scattered about, were 12,000 strong; so that the strength of the five corps, that moved upon Novara, was brought down to about 60,000 men with 186 guns.

Chrzanowski waited for the enemy by Bicocca, a village on an eminence to the south of Novara, about a mile and a quarter from the streams of Agogna and Terdoppio respectively. His order of battle was formed of three Divisions in two lines, and occupied a space of nearly two miles, from the canal of Olengo

near Terdoppio, to the Dossi canal near Agogna. Perrone's Division posted at Bicocca was on the left. Bes's in the centre, Durando's on the right; six battalions supported Perrone's left, and four Durando's right; three battalions of sharpshooters covered the entire front. The Divisions of the Dukes of Genoa and Savoy were in reserve; the first on the left behind Bicocca and near the country of S. Nazzaro; the second on the right, close to Novara, between the *Piazza d'Armi* and the Vercelli road. On the left flank, beyond the main line, Solaroli's Brigade between the Trecate and Galliate roads, covered by the Terdoppio, was to keep watch, and to repel the enemy should they advance in that quarter. The entire force of 53,000 men, with 111 guns, was in battle array by nine in the morning. There were 20,000 men with 40 guns beyond the Po; while 7000 or 8000 we had already lost in action or by desertion.

Between ten and eleven, the enemy moved forward on the side of Olengo under D'Aspre, who, heedless of his dangers, gave the word for the attack. He distributed Archduke Albert's Division on the two sides of the road, opposite Bicocca and the Division of Perrone, extending it on the left with a portion of Schaaffgotsche's Division, of which he held the rest in reserve, and posting the cavalry in rear of the wings. But upon discovering that he had the whole Piedmontese army in front of him, he dispatched speedy intelligence of it to the Marshal, sent in haste for Appel, and informed Thurn that it was necessary for him to hasten to Novara: he then began the engage-

ment with his guns and sharpshooters. The Brigade Savona, which was in our front line, gave way; but the Brigade Savoy was brought forward, recovered the ground with great ardour, and made a large number of prisoners in the houses scattered in front of Bicocca. But as D'Aspre hereupon brought forward his reserve, the Brigade Savoy, itself retired, and at noon the Austrians again carried Bicocca. Then Chrzanowski ordered the Duke of Genoa to lead one of his Brigades into action, while the other was to follow at some distance. General Passalacqua, in command of the Brigade Piedmont, charged with vehemence, retook many positions about Bicocca, and made 300 prisoners; but while he was thus restoring the fortune of our arms, this gallant soldier fell, with three mortal gun-shot wounds in the breast. Still, the third regiment of the Brigade Piedmont pushed victoriously beyond Bicocca, and got as far as the height of Castellazzo, but there was overmatched and gave ground. The thirteenth regiment of the Brigade Pinerolo came briskly up, and reconquered the environs of Castellazzo. All this was on the right; on the left the Duke of Genoa vigorously pressed the enemy, made himself master of Castellazzo itself, marched double-quick on the village of Olengo, expelled the Austrians, threw them into confusion, and sent the sharpshooters in pursuit of them to a great distance. While this action was going on, Durando and Solaroli repulsed the attacks made on the centre and extremities of our line. By two o'clock D'Aspre was worsted at all points, driven back beyond Olengo

about two miles from Bicocca, and in peril of utter extermination. But Chrzanowski did not profit by this gleam of success; and instead of assuming the offensive with a preponderance of force, he recalled the Duke of Genoa behind Castellazzo. Then D'Aspre resumed the engagement, retook Castellazzo, and lost it anew, yet, as our foot fought but slackly, continued to contest the ground. Meanwhile General Perrone, who was setting an example of resolution and of daring to his own wavering troops, was mortally wounded in the head. At this time the Austrians were on the point of winning, when, at half past three, three Piedmontese regiments, hastening to the spot, once more drove them back beyond Bicocca. The battered troops of D'Aspre were now indeed reduced to extremities.

Radetzki, upon receiving D'Aspre's message at noon, ordered Appel to support him forthwith, and Thurn and Wratislaw to wheel to the right upon Novara; while he himself repaired to the field of battle. At four, Appel's troops came into action, but gained no very marked advantage, and the fortunes of the day were still in suspense. But about five, Thurn's vanguard reached the bridge over the Agogna, and his reserve got to Olengo. Then the Marshal ordered a desperate attack upon Bicocca with almost his entire force, throwing out towards the left a portion of his reserve, to hold the Piedmontese centre and right in check, and employing a few companies to keep Solaroli's Brigade on the alert. In this quarter, Bes and Durando repulsed the enemy; and Chrzanowski, who

had come with Charles Albert towards the centre, returned in haste to Bicocca. But here matters were going wrong. Four Austrian Divisions had assaulted and taken first Castellazzo, then Bicocca; and our men were getting into disorder. The Duke of Genoa rallied and put in array three battalions, and, dismounting, sought to bring them back to the charge by marching on foot at their head; but the fortitude and daring of the intrepid Prince were ineffectual against the great numbers of the enemy and his force of artillery, so Bicocca was definitively lost. Thus it became requisite to order a retreat upon Novara; and, thanks to the excellence of the cavalry, it was accomplished, although the foot had fallen into extreme confusion. At eight o'clock, the whole force which had been engaged at Bicocca had entered the town with the King, who had been present in every affair of the day, and had himself brought up the rear on the retreat.

While our fortunes thus went to wrack on the left, the centre and right remained in a most perilous predicament. Alessandro La Marmora, with ready and acute decision, facilitated the retreat. Bes's Division, when it arrived before Novara, was subjected to the fire of our guns, because such was the darkness that friend and foe could not be distinguished. This mishap greatly disheartened the men, who conceived the city must have fallen into the hands of the Austrians; so that one portion only of them entered it, while the rest took the road to Agognate. Durando was annoyed, while retiring, by the troops of Thurn, but he kept

them in check, and got into Novara without serious loss. A part of the Division in reserve had been sent to meet Bes and Durando, and to support them on their retreat; the remainder, posted on the Vercelli road, had prevented Thurn from taking possession of that city. Solaroli's Brigade was in motion towards Cameri. Round Novara some preparations for defence were made in haste; the gates barricaded, and the guns mounted on the bastions. The night was gloomy and dark; it rained in torrents; the enemy rested after his victory, the corps of D'Aspre, Appel, and Thurn bivouacking at the gates of Novara, the reserve at Olengo, and Wratislaw at Monticello. We had lost 4000 men in killed and wounded, 2000 prisoners, and twelve guns; the Austrians had lost 3000, besides 1000 prisoners.

More serious and afflicting than the actual discomfiture was the demoralisation of our infantry. Novara was at the mercy of a handful of maniacs who were sacking, and who threatened to burn it. It was imperative to put them down by force, and this the cavalry effected. With the bonds of discipline thus relaxed, it was impossible to prolong resistance, much more to resume the offensive. Charles Albert, who had been facing death throughout the day, and replying to those who urged him not to throw his life unprofitably away, "they should let him die, that sun was his last," called the Generals into council, and since the army was a wreck, settled to send General Cossato, head of the General's Staff, to Radetzki to solicit a truce. The ungenerous enemy harshly re-

quired terms intolerable to Piedmont and insulting to the King; for he desired that, by way of preliminary, all Italians who had fought on the side of the Piedmontese should be forthwith driven from the ranks. The King again summoned all the leaders of the army, with the Minister Cadorna, who was in the camp; and having indignantly stated the proposals of Radetzki, he added, "You see, gentlemen, that terms like these are inadmissible:" and he inquired whether it were possible "to resume hostilities and offer any effectual resistance to the enemy." "No," was the answer; not at all because the losses of that day were irreparable, but because the army, previously daunted by the disobedience, or as most deemed it, the treason of Ramorino, and then by the disastrous action at Mortara, was now virtually dissolved: some corps had disbanded, of others there were no tidings, and, generally, the soldiers would not obey their officers. Hereupon Charles Albert thus resumed:— "During these last eighteen years, I have made every practicable effort for the benefit of the people; I grieve to witness the frustration of my hopes, not for my own sake so much as for my country; I have failed in finding my death upon the field of battle, as I could have wished: perhaps I may now individually be the single obstacle to our obtaining from the enemy a fair convention; and as there are not the means of prolonging hostilities, I now abdicate my throne in favour of my son Vittorio; flattering myself that the new King, on resuming communications with Radetzki, may be able to make better terms, and

to procure for the country an advantageous peace." And pointing to the Duke of Savoy, he added, "You see your King." He then embraced all present, and dismissing them, remained alone with his two sons.

The new Sovereign, Victor Emmanuel, dispatched General Cossato and the Minister Cadorna to the enemy's camp. But the Marshal told them he must negotiate with the King himself. After hesitation for a while on his part, at last they met near Vignale. A truce was concluded on the following terms:— 20,000 Austrians, maintained by Piedmont, were to occupy the district between the Ticino and the Sesia; a mixed garrison of Austrians and Piedmontese was to hold the fortress of Alessandria; Piedmont to discharge the Lombard corps, and to place her army on the peace establishment; negotiations for a peace on the basis of the treaties of 1815 were to commence forthwith; and Austria to be indemnified for the charges of the war. During these occurrences, General Wimpffen appeared with three Brigades before Casale, and summoned it to surrender on the morning of the 24th. This town is on the right bank of the Po, at the foot of the hills which command the valley of that river. It is not a fortified place; but it has an ancient castle, which was garrisoned at the time with a company of veterans. There were also there no small number of soldiers, who had been stragglers during the days preceding. The honour alike of the intrepid inhabitants, and of that handful of gallant men, forbade them to open their gates to the elated enemy, so they attacked and repulsed him;

and afterwards, when night had fallen, they sallied and gave him much annoyance. Next day Wimpffen had tidings of the armistice, and orders to retire behind the Sesia.

Charles Albert set out from Novara, with a single valet, at midnight of the 23rd. A few miles onward, he was stopped by the Austrians, who all but fired a cannon shot upon his carriage. Being asked for his name, he said he was the Count Di Barge (such was the *incognito* he had chosen), Colonel in the Sardinian army, and in charge of a special mission. The officer in command would not permit him to pursue his journey without the authority of General Thurn, who came at five in the morning, put questions to the King, and observing that he had a passport from the Commandant of Novara, treated him with abundant courtesy, but stated that he could not be allowed to proceed, unless some one should testify that he really was the Count Di Barge, as he called himself. A Piedmontese sharpshooter who was a prisoner at the place, recognised his Sovereign, and bore the testimony required. At eight in the morning Charles Albert got away. On the 25th he arrived at Nice, and on the 26th at Antibes in France. Thus did the first among Italian Sovereigns, that had attempted the enterprise of national independence, tread the path of banishment! History stands mute in her hallowed sorrow, before the images of fallen Italy and of the venerated exile!

CHAP. VI.

INSURRECTION OF BRESCIA. — OF GENOA. — PUT DOWN BY GENERAL ALFONSO LA MARMORA. — MEETING OF THE ROMAN ASSEMBLY AFTER THE TIDINGS OF THE BATTLE OF NOVARA. — VALERIO'S SPEECH. — EXTRACT OF A NOTE ADDRESSED BY HIM, TOGETHER WITH THE VENETIAN AND TUSCAN ENVOYS, TO THE ROMANS. — MAZZINI CHOSEN A TRIUMVIR. — NEWS OF THE INSURRECTION OF GENOA REACH ROME. — MAZZINI'S PROCLAMATION. — GAETA. — ENVOYS AT THE CONFERENCES; ESTERHAZY; THE DUC D'HARCOURT. — DEBATES AND DISSENSIONS. — MERCIER AGAIN AT ROME. — ALSO M. FORBIN JANSON. — THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS. — THEIR JOURNAL "LA SPERANZA DELL' EPOCA." — PROCLAMATIONS, NOTIFICATIONS, AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS. — HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL REMARKS. — ACTS OF PROFANATION AND HYPOCRISY. — THE ILLUMINATED CROSS IN ST. PETER'S ON GOOD FRIDAY. — LANGUAGE OF THE "MONITORE ROMANO." — SCANDALS. — EASTER DAY. — THE BENEDICTION. — REMARKS ON THE RELIGION OF ITALY. — SENTENCE ON THE CANONS OF ST. PETER'S.

We have not yet done with misfortune. Magnanimous Brescia burned with the love of freedom, and, on the very day of the battle of Novara, she daringly took arms. The castle had a garrison of 500 Austrians, who held out, although their commander had been taken prisoner by the insurgents. The few troops in the neighbourhood flocked in; General Haynau hastened from Padua with 4000 men. The Brescians had not heard of the catastrophe of Novara, but Haynau had; and not content with a blockade, he barbarously wished to carry the city by assault.

Various skirmishes were fought, with a diversity of fortune, but with unfailing courage on the part of the townsmen: finally, however, on the 31st, Haynau effected his entry. And now began a fierce and desperate struggle: the Brescians fought like heroes in every street, from every house: the Austrians, not satisfied with conquering, massacred, burned, and perpetrated matchless horrors. The name of Brescia is given over to the veneration of Italy, that of Haynau to infamy throughout Europe.

Fresh calamity, fresh error, succeeded. Genoa had long been gnawed by a gloomy disaffection, which was fostered and feeed alike by the republican sects and by the agents of Austria. When the awful tidings of Novara arrived, the city became frantic; a thousand sinister reports went abroad; the place was to be given as an hostage to the victor, Italy was betrayed; all the complaints that perturbed spirits are wont to suggest, all the calumnies the sects could manufacture, and all the phantasms that panic-stricken fancy could evoke. In that place were huddled together sectarian meddlers, street politicians, Mazzinians and Montanellians of every province of Italy and from abroad, who were counting the very moments till they could have uproar, adventure, good luck. When the multitude had been led by national emotion to take arms, these men inflamed the local passions, so keen and powerful in Genoa; they perverted Italian indignation into spite towards Piedmont; they assailed Italy with the arms prepared for her defence; cried "Fire boil and cauldron bubble;" and were in

sheer and palpable rebellion. But when the movement had reached the point at which the mischief-makers aimed, they were abandoned by all the citizens except a few, and then vainly tried to let loose the convicts in the galleys, to use them as allies: miserable men! who could keep the orgies of civil dissension, even over the bier of Italy!

General Alfonso La Marmora, who, on the 28th of March, was in the Duchy of Parma with 7600 men, and who, after hearing of the truce, had set out for Tortona and Voghera, was ordered to repair to Genoa and keep or reduce it to obedience; receiving a reinforcement of 3000 men, and the office of Royal Commissioner. I do not describe at length the conflicts which ensued, for the spirit of an Italian permits neither insult to the vanquished, nor panegyric on the victors; the rebel chiefs, except the bold and resolute Avezzana, sentenced themselves to disgrace by running away from the first dangers: the reward of the conquerors is the consciousness of a duty fulfilled with admirable prowess. The National Guards, who had been dragged into the movement, would not fight; and the few insurgents, most of them strangers to Genoa, could not. On the 4th of April a few sharpshooters go tpossession of the Lunette Belvedere, and the forts La Crocetta and La Tanaglia; others, penetrating within the lines, opened the *Angeli* gate to their comrades; when La Marmora summoned the city to surrender. Only the van of the army, which had commenced the attempt, met with any obstacles to its progress: and that because the summons to

surrender had exasperated the inhabitants, who had asked and expected to obtain the aid of the Lombard Division. But, directly that La Marmora's troops came up, he left no interval for deliberation and defence, but continued the attack with the same daring with which he commenced it, and pushed it to success. On the 10th, he was master of the forts and of the city. The King pardoned all concerned, except a few ringleaders; and on the 11th the Italian banner, with the Cross of Savoy, and the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel II., were reinstated in Genoa.

We left Rome just as she cried to arms for the war of independence. Martial ardour had re-kindled the public spirit; troops had been got ready for Upper Italy; it had been decreed that twelve battalions of National Guards should be equipped for permanent duty; the Revenue Guard was formed into a battalion of light infantry, and the students into a legion; while the Carabineers, the flower of the troops, were put in readiness for the field. Meanwhile, excavations in the Roman Forum were ordered, to supply employment and bread for the workmen; and public prayers to God, to obtain a blessing on the Italian war. Political faction, as I have said, was lulled; and tidings from the Piedmontese camp were awaited with painful anxiety, when unexpectedly their arrival announced utter ruin. The Assembly met with closed doors on the 29th of March; they debated, nay, stormed, but hung in suspense between a variety of courses: one proposes to invade the kingdom of Naples, another to rush to Lombardy: the tidings

were vague; it seemed incredible that all hope should have vanished. Valerio, who was still in Rome, and hoped that Piedmont was not crushed, and that her fortunes might be restored with the aid of the inhabitants of Central Italy, requested admission to the Assembly, along with the Envoys of Venice and Tuscany, smitten alike by the common danger. He was admitted; and having asked leave to speak, he related the vicissitudes of the war, now prosperous, now adverse to the arms of Piedmont, together with the late grievous affair, and the extreme actual hazard; denying, however, that they had been beaten in every encounter, as the Minister Rusconi had asserted. He spoke with enthusiasm of Charles Albert and of his sons, and applauded their self-sacrifice, courage, and perseverance; referred with disgust to the political hardihood, so ill supported by military daring on behalf of Italy; said it was a time for deeds, and deeds alone; all mischievous party strife, all idle word-play, ought to cease; let the Republic emulate his King and the House of Savoy, let Rome do as Piedmont; they should rush, nay, fly; all might not yet be lost. Some murmurs were audible when he spoke so emphatically in praise of his Princes, but the plaudits of the majority cheered him on; and the Venetian and Tuscan Envoys, too, by way of assent to his language, applauded, and afterwards signed a note which made the sentiments of Valerio, his representations, and his remonstrances, their own. It ended with these words: "The undersigned Envoys think, that they thus do the fullest

justice to their respective Governments by echoing the cry that Italy is in danger, and protesting against whatever may be urged to abate the glory of the army of Italy, and so to beget the belief that the fortunes of our country are desperate, or may further delay the coming to her aid for a final and desperate effort." The Assembly then decided upon entering with all its resources into the war of independence, by supporting Piedmont, which they did not believe to be irreparably defeated, and they ordered troops from Rome to march in that direction the same night.

It also concentrated the Executive of the State in a Triumvirate composed of Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini; which was an undefined Dictatorship. Though the people, of course, continued Sovereign, and the Assembly was called Sovereign too, the Triumvirs were made Sovereigns over both, or rather in fact Mazzini became the Autocrat. In the end of March, then, began the absolute sway of Mazzini. The Legislative Assembly subsisted, but he governed Assembly as well as people by flattery, by the sectarian cliques, by his imperturbable fanaticism, which looked like courage and confidence, and thus reassured the simple and the weak; by the aid of his confidants, by the hope of universal revolution, by predictions, by mystical philanthropy, seasoned with the terror that the sectaries know how to propagate. The Revolution of Rome now passes to a new form, or takes its proper, its preconceived, and essential one; it is incarnate in Mazzini.

On the 30th of March, the news that Genoa had

risen arrived at Rome, coloured with falsehood and calumny by the savage glee of Roman and Tuscan agents. The Clubs went into ecstasy, the Mazzinians exulted in that triumph, and Mazzini, himself a Genoese, could not refrain from publishing such joyous tidings. He concluded a Proclamation thus: "The last prestige is gone; the monarchical principle is doomed; the triumph is for God and the people, who never break faith."

Upon the news of the revival of the war, the Papal Court began to waver. The diplomatists foretold the ruin of Italy; Pius IX. hesitated; Cardinal Antonelli held his peace, and awaited the issue. Baron Martini, the new Austrian Ambassador to Naples, had carried to the Holy Father the money extorted by Haynau from Ferrara; a brutal compliment! Demidoff, the Russian, had come to stimulate the Tuscan Court, which was all Neapolitan in its ideas and hopes. In a few days he went off to conduct secret machinations, and, if report speaks truly, charged with a request to Radetzki to enter Tuscany the first moment he could. The conferences on Roman affairs were to have commenced on the 1st of April, with Cardinal Antonelli to preside, M. D'Harcourt and M. Rayneval, Minister at Naples, to act for France, Esterhazy for Austria, Martinez de la Rosa for Spain, Ludolf for Naples.

For the Courts of Naples, Rome, and Tuscany, that day was one of gala, on which came the news of the disaster at Novara. The tidings of the Genoa insurrection heightened the rejoicings, because, with the

cause of nationality gone already, they now prognosticated the overthrow of free institutions. Esterhazy, previously to this intelligence, had appeared temperate and conciliatory; but afterwards he became elated for Austria, now wanton with success; and, so soon as they came to converse on Roman affairs, he put forward pretensions, which the Envoys of France deemed so exorbitant as to make agreement impossible, and the negotiations were within a very little of being broken off. For the Duc D'Harcourt was aware of the condition of the Roman States; and, through the examination M. Mercier had recently made, had acquired a certainty, that nothing but civil equality and political freedom would keep the inhabitants quiet. He therefore proposed liberal arrangements, and would not consent to handing over that people into the power of the clergy by Austrian arms without the co-operation of France, and without guarantees for civilised Government. But Cardinal Antonelli, who at first was wont to avow humanised and liberal views, and to dissemble from D'Harcourt the mistrust he cherished towards France, having his spirits raised by the Austrian successes, altered his tone, and pressed for an immediate intervention and restoration, fettered neither by promise from the Court, nor by securities for the people. Hereupon followed keen debate, and radical dissension; so that D'Harcourt declared he could not go on with the negotiations until he had fresh instructions from his Government, to whom he wrote accordingly, while he again sent Mercier to Rome, that he might use means

to make it felt there how all liberty would stand in the utmost jeopardy, unless the inhabitants brought about a restoration of themselves, requiring guarantees for their freedom, and invoking the countenance of France to back the demand. Mercier accordingly, having got back to Rome, communicated with the Constitutionalists; but the ruin of the Piedmontese army had deprived them of all moral weight, and Mazzini's Dictatorship had stripped them of all means of influence upon the Assembly or the Government. Besides, while M. Mercier intimated wishes and tendered counsel, he made no promise on the part of France; he required that the Constitutionalists should combine with her in overthrowing the Republic, and in restoring the temporal dominion of the Pope, but he had no power to guarantee free institutions; he guaranteed nothing but hopes. On the other side, M. Forbin Janson, the Secretary of Legation, went and came between Rome and Gaeta; a man apt perhaps for underhand cabal, but ignorant of the circumstances of the country, and a devotee of the party termed Catholic in France. He plotted with a handful of Canons, Prelates, or Sanfedists, thought that in them lay the sense and strength of Rome, and wondered that any body could desire or affix limitations upon the returning fortunes of the Pope. Thus did one agent of France dally with the Constitutionalists, another with the partisans of clerical absolutism; the first taking his cue from the Duc D'Harcourt, and he again from M. Drouin De L'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the second from M. de Rayneval,

and through a certain dandy Monsignore, named Falloux, a canvasser for honours, under a mighty show first of liberalism and then of Catholic ardour, from his brother M. Falloux, Minister of Public Instruction. But the Constitutionalists could not and were not warranted to proceed without guarantees, while the others engaged in low but effectual intrigues. Thinned in numbers, hateful to the men in power, dogged and plotted against by assassins, the Constitutionalists had not indeed all lost their presence of mind, nor did they scruple to utter their censures in public, to denounce criminality, condemn folly, and criticise improvidence. Some of them had undertaken to edit a newspaper called *La Speranza dell' Epoca*, which defended honourable citizens against unfounded abuse; appealed to liberty, whose name was put to shame in that despotism of the sectaries and the mob; upheld the cause of nationality; blasted the arrogant and impious doctrines subversive of all civil order and society; lifted its voice against the assassinations perpetrated with impunity in the Provinces; and fearlessly opposed the Dictators. But this free utterance was drowned amidst the howls of the slaves and flatterers of the Government, and of the rabble from the Clubs; for Rome was doomed by Mazzini to play out his infallible idea. The Triumvirs had reconstructed the Ministry; Rusconi had got the Foreign Department, Manzoni the Finances, Lazzarini Grace and Justice, Montecchi Commerce and Public Works. The new members of it were Sturbinetti for Public Instruction, with Professor Gherardi for his Deputy, an excellent person,

of high physical and mathematical distinction; and Berti Pichat in the Home Department, who, when he had been to Rome and seen how matters stood, went off at once, and then resigned his office. Calandrelli, an honourable man, who had endeavoured, with faithfulness and above board, to promote method and discipline both in the Assembly and in the country, by exposing the grossest of the abuses and disorders, resigned because the Triumvirs put slights upon his authority to gratify the disorderly. The War and Naval Departments were left in the charge of the Commission appointed by the Assembly, and the Interior remained in the hands of the busy-body Accursi. Proclamations, announcements, laws, edicts, regulations, circulars, swarmed. It was thus that Assembly, Triumvirs, and Ministers diffused their wisdom. It is a common art, or vice rather; men think the multiplication of laws is science, authority, renovation; whereas it is mere falsehood, childishness, and chaos. Laws, however, edicts, and proclamations, they made, and of all sorts. The Assembly fixed pensions for persons wounded in war and for the families of persons slain; it devolved temporarily on the Executive Power the exercise of the prerogative of mercy; it recalled all leaves of absence granted to its members; it took into consideration "the foundation of establishments both in Rome and the Provinces for the reception of indigent families," and in the meantime, it appropriated at Rome the Office of the Inquisition for the purpose. "Faith in God, in right, and in ourselves," was one day the cry of the Triumvirs; and the

next, "Tell the world by your deeds, that every gun not now employed in our defence, not in the hands of a soldier ready for the fight, is a mortal sin against the Republic." They made a requisition for all muskets; they put the National Guard of Rome under the War Department, and placed Sturbinetti at its head, who was universally beloved and esteemed for his fine talents and distinguished rectitude. They created 251,595 crowns of new Treasury bonds, and declared that those issued by the Pope's Government should bear no interest. So, by this paper, they ruined the security which payment of interest affords; at once a mockery, and a foul breach of plighted faith. A rumour had gone abroad, that they thought of an accommodation; so they announced, "that the Triumvirate would view any concession, any deviation from its principle, whatever its degree, origin, or shape, as treason; that for the Triumvirate, just as for the Assembly, Rome and Republic were identical; that at the moment of transition from the King's war to the People's, in the face of the energy of Genoa, of the cry for country and independence which all the good in Piedmont, in Tuscany, and elsewhere indignantly were sounding, and of Austrian intimidation, the very thought of compromise would be crime, and dastard crime." They decreed a surcharge of 25 per cent. on all who should not within seven days pay the first instalment of the forced loan. I omit votes of minor moment, and the copious phrases about love, and justice, and brotherhood, to which facts but ill corresponded, for with the calamities of the country in-

solence increased. The news that Genoa was reduced to obedience under the Constitutional monarchy, neither chastened nor unsettled those who had hailed that Italian calamity with plaudits, as though it had been a glorious Italian victory, but augmented the fury and desperation, which they styled enthusiasm; and the names of the young King Victor Emmanuel, and of the brave La Marmora were branded with disgrace. For this also is a canon in the code of the evangelical school of democratic liberty, to pretend allegiance while contriving plots; to denounce the charge of plotting as calumnious; to brag afterwards of this hypocrisy, when by fraud and force they are uppermost; to honour those who break oaths, defame those who keep them, curse such as put down force by force. Then, when beaten, they whine over the victims; then they invoke pity, pardon, humanity, nay, the religion they constantly blaspheme: they count up gashes and deaths, and multiply them, but confine their laments to the gashes, the deaths, the sufferings, on their own side; as if the defenders on the other, their wounded, their tortured, were neither Christians nor men, and pity and charity themselves were but the camp-followers of a party.

Nor do they profane Christianity less than charity. They treat Christ as a myth; and the Gospel as the book of the Sibyls of Democracy; twist the sacred text beyond belief, impersonate the people in God on the one hand, in their own party on the other, and find the priesthood of God and of the people in drunken and sanguinary factions. Aware, however,

that the masses worship God and are devout in the religion of their fathers, they affect religious zeal, and traffic with the innate sentiment of religion, as they do with that of liberty, to gain ascendancy; imitating herein the emperors and tyrants who, when ruffians cannot do all they want, turn themselves into Holy Inquisitors, Prophets, Pontiffs, and under pretext of protecting Religion, crush and debase it. Nor is this declamation; it is the record of actual hypocrisy and profanation. I resume the narrative.

It had long been customary in Rome, on the evening of Good Friday, to illuminate a huge Cross in the Church of St. Peter, which, hanging from the dome, threw flickering rays along the lurid vaults. In the year 1824, under Leo XII., that custom was abolished on account of certain scandals; but the Triumvirate made a point of restoring its observance. It is said to have been the notion of Armellini, who was well acquainted with the instincts and cravings of the Roman populace; as a former Saints' advocate, half lawyer and half cleric, he knew they liked a show, and the seasoning of pleasure with their religion. So the illumination took place; and the light which irradiated the tombs of the Apostles, on the day which for the faithful commemorates the passion of Christ, attracted the inquisitive to the spectacle, the licentious to their orgies. To mingle, as certain ecclesiastics are too apt, political with religious symbols, tricolor fireworks were let off; a fresh profanation, and a fresh hypocrisy. Nay they boasted of it; for the *Monitore Romano* (this Frenchified ap-

pellation they had given to their Government Gazette) announced that "they had breathed a moral and patriotic harmony into an exhibition, which in past times had been an idle dissipation, to dazzle the eyes without leaving traces on the soul." Easter Day arrived; and the Triumvirs commanded the Canons of St. Peter's to make ready the same magnificent function that it is usual for the Vicar of Christ to celebrate; and when these ministers of God refused, as they were bound, to act the part of political showmasters, they found a priest, who was an army-chaplain, under interdict as some believed, and him they caused to celebrate episcopally (as it is called) at one of the four altars of St. Peter's, at which only the Pontiff, and the Dean of the Sacred College appointed by Papal bull, are authorised to perform Mass. The Church was in all its festal array; the Triumvirs were present, with a number of Deputies and public officers, the Clubs, the Tuscan, Swiss, American, and English Consuls; military music played. When Mass was over, the Priest went in procession to the great balcony of the Basilica, from which the Pope ordinarily gives his blessing to his Catholic people. Amidst the flags of the Republic, he bore the Holy Sacrament; and he blessed the kneeling multitude in the wide Piazza amidst the pealing of cannon and of bells; Mazzini then appeared in the balcony, and plaudits were given for the Republic. Those who saw the spectacle (and I was one), reflected sorrowfully on this cursed hypocrisy, and how a people not dieted with solid and masculine religion becomes the prey of

every description of hypocrite. The priest Dall' Ongaro in the *Monitore Romano* denominated that celebration the "New Pasch:" magnified the Republic, through which a free people had been blessed by Christ in Sacrament; and thus ended his panegyric: "There lacked the Vicar of Christ; but by no fault of ours; and though he was away, we had the people, and we had God."

I am arrested here by serious reflections: of Religion I have not yet spoken in these pages; I shall speak of it here briefly, and once for all. Among the Liberals some are indifferent in religion, which means nearly the same as irreligious: many imbecile spirits dream that they are stout, by straining to be or to seem unbelievers; some, resenting the theocracy of the clergy and their misgovernment, doubt of the Catholic verities, and confuse the Church with lazy and vicious friars, with ignorant and ill-conducted priests, the Cardinal Secretary of State with the Pontiff, the Sovereign of Rome with the Vicar of Christ. Many, while they are Catholic, yet feel and think that the Church is suffering from sores, and ruminate on remedies old and new. Little studied and little known, and that by but few of the Liberals, are the fine, honourable, and sound doctrines about the freedom of the Church and of the State, the authority and the independence of each. Clergymen and laymen have alike but scanty knowledge of them; the one class and the other have confusion in their intellects, and passion in their hearts. Both language and acts are violent, so far as the refinement or effe-

minacy of these times will permit. In the midst of this chaos have arisen certain believers, I know not how far in the truths of Christianity, but at any rate in its civilising tendencies and in the reality of the popular devotion, who consider Christianity, whether an holy law from God or not, to be an excellent basis for the law of man, but then it requires to be renovated and disentangled from Roman Catholicism. They are political innovators, who would fain innovate in religion too. They are not, or do not seem, or do not profess themselves, Protestants of any of the known sects; yet their language is a protest, and they take pleasure in Protestant proselytism, and countenance it either unawares or for the advantage of their political sects. They handle Religion as a tool, just as so many despots, ancient and modern, have done, and Napoleon most of all, the most despotic among them, and the greatest the most splendid of despots, but in this subject matter, with all due respect to his imperturbable eulogists, the most besotted. Many Liberals, who denounce him, and in my opinion rightly, for his despotic proceedings, commend him, and seem to set him up as their pattern of liberalism in the matter of religion. They are only creating a doctrine, or more properly an empirism encyclopædic and half rationalising, the idlest of all the forms of impiety. Italy (for this is the point at which my argument is aimed) is Catholic; those in Italy, who have any creed at all, have the Catholic creed. Men who by their words, their writings, and their actions, impair the faith of the

masses, are unbelievers, or misbelievers, or imbecile, because they waver even in disbelief; or they are resentful against the priests, and they sham irreligion out of spite, or they protestantize from fashion or the spirit of sect. Meanwhile not one of them would lay down his life for a new creed or a new religion, far less for Protestantism, which is superannuated, and going to pieces. Yet look at Mazzini; he is not satisfied with the unity of Italy, a scheme contested, an aim in my opinion not good, nor grand, and at all events unattainable in these times: he is not satisfied with the destruction of monarchy, a pestilent idea, as I think, for the modern European society, at any rate one yet more resisted than the former, and an end little likely to be gained; nor yet with pure democracy, a phrase of equivocal meaning, a term itself indeterminate, if we construe it in the sense of certain persons: no, nor yet with the destruction of the Pope's temporal power, an undertaking, as is plain, vastly difficult; all this is too little; Mazzini thinks it a light matter to destroy in Italy Roman Catholicism to boot. It is an historical and political absurdity, it is the delirium of a schoolboy. Italy, I repeat, is Catholic; and there is no Catholicism but the Roman. The Liberals ought, if not out of belief yet out of prudence, to discard their Voltairian and anti-religious mien; they ought to think and study a little more, and they will find that men may be Liberals and Italians and yet remain Catholics; that they may even wish for and design the extinction of the Pope's temporal power, without renouncing the faith of their fathers, and becoming

Protestant. They should reflect that, if the accomplishment of their plans be now opposed by perjured kings, slavish ministers, potent armies, barbarous strangers, worldly-minded priests, when they come to assail the Catholic Religion, they will have against them the masses, who will brook, perhaps, any and every oppression except that which tramples on religious conscience.

I will now finish on this head with recounting one or two more facts.

The Triumvirs condemned the Canons of St. Peter's to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty crowns apiece because they had declined to chant the *Te Deum* for the Republic, and subsequently did not choose to celebrate the New Pasch of priest Dall' Ongaro. The ground assigned for the sentence was this; that the Canons "had grievously offended the dignity of Religion, and excited scandal, and that it was the duty of the Government to defend Religion from contamination." See now what kind of liberty it was, to which Rome was treated by the Dictators, and then ask, what kind of Religion they were for keeping incontaminate! And as we are speaking of liberty, it is well to add, that, when the *Costituzionale Romano* had mentioned the scandals that had happened in St. Peter's on the evening of Good Friday, the Club of the People pressed to have that journal punished, and Sterbini himself signed that intimidatory remonstrance, which was published in the *Monitore*. This was the liberty of the press, just as freedom of conscience had been sealed by the sentence

against the Canons of St. Peter's. These fits and starts of a stolid despotism were hardily denounced in the newspaper *La Speranza dell' Epoca;* where Mamiani printed an article, which earned him at the time much praise from the liberal citizens of Rome, and much odium with her rulers.

CHAP. VII.

RESULTS OF THE CATASTROPHE OF NOVARA. — CONDITION OF LOMBARDY. — THE NEW KING OF PIEDMONT. — VENICE: MESSAGE FROM HAYNAU. — ANSWER OF THE ASSEMBLY. — PERSEVERING GENEROSITY OF THE VENETIANS. — LANGUAGE ADDRESSED TO EUROPE BY TOMMASEO. — REMARKS. — THE KING OF NAPLES. — THE PROCEEDINGS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. — REOPENING OF THE NEAPOLITAN PARLIAMENT. — ITS DISSOLUTION. — PERFIDIOUS PROCEEDINGS. — CONFLICT OF NAPLES AND SICILY. — PROPOSALS OF ACCOMMODATION: REMARKS THEREON. — TEXT OF A LETTER FROM M. RAYNEVAL TO ADMIRAL BAUDIN. — AND OF ONE FROM ADMIRAL BAUDIN TO THE SICILIAN GOVERNMENT. — REFUSAL OF SICILY, AND RUIN OF ITS CAUSE. — TUSCANY; CHURLISH PROCEEDINGS THERE. — THE CONSTITUENT, AND GUERRAZZI, DICTATOR. — HIS DICTATORSHIP ENDS WITH THE FLORENTINE INSURRECTION AND RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL THRONE. — LANGUAGE OF MAZZINI AT ROME THEREON. — OF ARMELLINI AND STERBINI. — DECREE OF THE ASSEMBLY. — PROCLAMATION BY THE TRIUMVIRATE. — DECREE ON CHURCH PROPERTY. — HEADS OF THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION PRESENTED BY THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO DRAW IT UP. — MOTION OF AUDINOT. — MANIFESTO TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND. — DEPARTURE OF THE MINISTER MANZONI. — COMMISSION OF FINANCE, AND ITS MEASURES.

When Piedmont had been worsted at Novara, and Italy with her, and when the blaze at Brescia had been quenched in gore, despairing Lombardy was left to the mercies of the vindictive stranger. The extortioners of the treasury were now soldiers; soldiers were judges, administrators, law-makers;

not a right, not an attachment, not even to hope or to weep was safe: there were punishments unheard of among civilised nations . . . floggings on the naked flesh . . . and this for women. Such inflictions has Austria modernised for Italy!

Not only the movers of sedition in Genoa, with those who think that wisdom, and fortitude of mind, and the justice of Liberalism, stand in calumniating monarchs, now intrigued against the fame of Victor Emmanuel, the new King of Piedmont; but many more, who lauded Charles Albert, the fallen and the banished, only to do damage to his son. He, however, had used his victory at Genoa with rare moderation; and among his advisers he had some who were steady in their Liberal and Italian views: Gioberti, Pinelli, and Galvagno, all the very flower of probity. So soon as he had sworn to the Constitution, he laboured to obtain modifications of the harsh terms of the truce, and to place in safety for the people their new-born liberties, for the State its independence.

Venice had made ready to assume the offensive in the Italian War: but, on the 2nd of April, she received a letter from General Haynau, which, after bragging of the victories of Austria, demanded with threats an immediate surrender. Manin forthwith convened the Assembly of Representatives; and they, with one voice, resolved to resist. Invited to consider the matter further, they added, "at all costs;" and the following vote was unanimously carried: "The Assembly of Representatives of the Venetian

State decrees, that Venice will resist the Austrian at all costs: for this purpose the President Manin is invested with unlimited powers." The city applauded, and would have a memorial of this resolute decision graven on bronze, and a medal struck, on one side of which appears the vote of the 2nd of April, and on the other is represented Venice in martial garb springing up to defend the tricolor flag; while her resolution to save her honour is expressed in that verse of Dante:

"Ogni viltà convien che quì sia morta."

The vote of the Assembly was sent as the reply to Haynau; and Manin then took measures for the replenishment of the pauperised Exchequer, which had long been dependent on extraordinary sacrifices for necessary supplies. As the considerate Dictator knew to what extremities the fortunes of all his fellow-citizens were reduced, he shrank almost from asking, but they offered more than he asked, some few, indeed, all they had; eighteen families gave 8,000,000 *lire*.* At length it was determined, that forty of the wealthiest should pay three millions in two instalments; which was done forthwith, and with so much alacrity, that some brought both instalments at once, and men were more ready to give than to receive. The distinguished Tommaseo addressed to Europe the following words:—

"After one year of sufferings, Venice, disappointed in her just hopes, draws fresh vigour from calamity, and pledges

* About 275,000*l*. — Tr.

herself to resistance at all costs. She is alone; but God is with her. The rights of the weak are more sacred in proportion to their weakness. At one time Venice of herself was worth a kingdom; now an entire nation is summed up in her. Let us have faith in our destinies. We shall resist, because God will give us the power, and Europe will not desert us in such straits. Some sacrifices we have made, without vainglory and without complaint. We have equipped above sixty forts and above sixty miles of coast. This city, reared but too much in the habits of peace, has armed more men than some martial provinces. Women, children, friars, convicts, have cheerfully denied themselves in necessaries or in comforts, to make offerings to their country. We will not speak of the enemy, or of his proceedings, or of the unworthy treaty, which fifty years ago made him our master. History has already passed judgment on it. We ask civilised and Christian Europe to show the world, that the modern policy can meet the demands of religion and humanity. The omen will be an happy one. What state is so strong as not to have within herself adversaries, sores, and dangers? The voice that rises from the Lagunes will echo through the world; alas for those who shall not listen."

But none did listen; and Venice stood out alone to maintain her oath of honour. Thus were the infamies of Campoformio, and of the treaties of Vienna and of Paris, regilded by Europe with fresh infamy. But Europe stands this day in dismay, while the powerful shudder at the boiling anger of nations, and at criminal passions threatening an outburst. Well, but that shudder is the consciousness of crime perpetrated and crime permitted. What? to set rights at nought, to trample and rend Christian nations, to break faith, to stand perjured before God and man; and then to expect quiet and security?

Madmen! Violence begets violence. Either your policy, turning Christian, must become the champion, in war and peace, of right and justice alone, or God will make Europe atone for its arrogance. I neither imprecate nor deprecate; but my faith is, that kings and countries will soon or late have to pay the debt due for the blood they have shed, and of souls lost through desperation. It is vain to take refuge in the dogma of an absolute sovereignty, which belongs neither to king nor people: vain on the one side to invoke legitimacy (the device of Talleyrand, that scoffer at all that is most holy), while treading down rights indefeasibly legitimate; vain, on the other, to appeal to all the rights of nature, while crushing every religious and civil duty: it is brute force on both sides. Either serve God in the practice of strict justice, or suffer and perish: yes, suffer and perish, every unjust prince, every unjust people. Farther on, we shall revert to Venice in her last agony; I must now briefly relate the sufferings of Naples and of Sicily.

The Government of Naples conspired with the stranger against Italian Independence: nor was this enough; for the King, son and grandson of perjurers, was undermining the free institutions to which he had sworn a year before. This is proved by the facts; nor do I use any circumlocution, for I see no middle term even for kings between justice and injustice, between veracity and perjury; and I think that the way to save endangered monarchies is not by dissimulation and falsehood, but by putting bad Sovereigns to shame, so that their disgrace may not recoil upon the honour-

able and the brave ones. The scourge of infamy is no respecter of crowns; history is not the adulator either of King or people. The Government of Naples, while with Russia and Austria it plotted against Italy, persecuted the men who, a year before, had saved the monarchy from popular resentment. It caused the crowd, who were celebrating the anniversary of the Constitution, to be dispersed by musketry. It purchased a corrupt and lazy rabble, to be the partner and tool of its vengeance. But the 1st of February arrived, without its finding the fortunes of Italy utterly ruined according to its wish. So it reopened the Parliament. The Chamber of Deputies resolved to submit to the Throne its complaints against the hated administration. But the administration, which set the Parliament at nought, and confined to given spots or imprisoned its members, took care that the King should not receive their representations and complaints. The conflict between right and cunning, reason and force, continued for forty days. Then, although the Chamber of Deputies had given proof of its political moderation in sanctioning the Electoral law promulgated by the Government after the 15th of May, and in granting authority to levy the taxes, the Parliament was dissolved on the 13th of March. The drunken soldiery, with some small refuse of bribed *lazzaroni*, made a gala of it by insulting the Deputies; and the King affronted the Almighty by a thanksgiving. The Government then set about hunting freemen; and got up a mass of trials for treason, inventing the

crime, and purchasing accusers, informers, witnesses, and judges. All which will be clear enough in the sequel.

After the French and English admirals had put an end to the scene in the Sicilian war acted by the royal troops at Messina, the diplomatists of those two nations had bestirred themselves to procure some terms of accommodation, with the wish that protocols, rather than arms, should end the contest. The Neapolitan Government was wroth at not having free scope for its vengeance, and waxed more spiteful against England, which fettered it with negotiations. At length, in the beginning of March, the King was induced to offer an arrangement to the Sicilians, so the fleets of England and France made sail to Palermo, to propose a Constitution drafted in fifty-six Articles, and purporting to be based on that of 1812; "but with the modifications demanded by the change of circumstances, and by the legislation in vigour." Sicily was to be subject to the Crown of Naples, under a Viceroy, with powers defined by the King (that is, not at all). Liberty of the press there was virtually to be none, since by the Fourth Article the King reserved it to himself by "his plenary power" to make a "special" law for controuling its abuse. A Minister for Sicilian affairs was to reside with the King in Naples, and to be the protector and director of the Ministry in Sicily. The Peers were to be chosen simply by the King; the qualification for voters and representatives was to be one high in proportion to the property of the Island: the officers presiding

over the elections to be nominated by the King; the King to have power to dissolve the Parliament and convene a fresh one after the lapse of a year. On the 28th of February, the English and French Ministers negotiated these conditions in Naples; and, on the 3rd of March, M. Rayneval wrote to Admiral Baudin —

"These conditions are the best that the united efforts of France and England have been able to obtain. We have exerted ourselves to procure the utmost preponderance for the interests of Sicily, and we do not think it feasible to carry any fresh modifications. We have then to look on these terms as an ULTIMATUM."

And Admiral Baudin wrote as follows, on the 7th of March, to the Sicilian Minister of Foreign Affairs:—

"The Governments of France and Great Britain, animated in common by good will towards Sicily, have made it their business to bring about a reconciliation between that country and the Kingdom of Naples, such as should insure to Sicily a free constitution, which for so many years she has ardently desired. The efforts of the two mediating Powers have been crowned with success. They have obtained from H. M. King Ferdinand II. an instrument, which guarantees to Sicily the basis of the constitution of 1812, with a separate Parliament and Ministry, and all public appointments to be held by Sicilians only. The Governments of France and England are therefore of opinion, that no serious obstacle any longer intervenes to hinder Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples from rivetting anew the bonds which have united the two countries under one and the same monarchy. Consequently, the undersigned Vice-Admiral has to hope that these terms, which he regards as perfectly fair and honourable, may be accepted, and that Sicily too may hasten to enjoy the boon of the institutions now tendered to her."

But Sicily refused the proffered terms; so the King of Naples was enabled to accomplish his designs: and he then reconquered her with but a slight exertion of force, on account of the feebleness of the defence, and the dissensions that had crept into Palermo. It may appear a political blunder that the Sicilians should not have come to terms: perhaps it was so; but, on the other hand, what terms could have been steady or secure under the word of King Ferdinand? Let Naples tell.

Tuscany had been prolonging by nervous twitches her slender existence: and her vainglorious regenerators had robbed her even of her ancient renown for refinement and hospitality, for the rabble had made bonfires of the newspapers, and of the effigies of the Constitutionalists, and had driven distinguished citizens into exile. The Journalists who boasted of the greatest liberalism had sneered at the venerable Capponi's blindness: the authorities published scurrilities against Gioberti, deprived Battista Giorgini, preeminent for his talent and public virtue, of his post as a teacher in the University of Pisa; suffered Lovatelli, the former President of Ferrara, to be injured and menaced by the licentious mob; threatened and expelled Massimo D'Azeglio, still suffering from the wounds he received at Vicenza, and done or allowed other acts of churlishness, say rather for Tuscany of barbarity, in the same dastardly kind. Vying with the King's *lazzaroni* at Naples, these *lazzaroni* of democracy so polluted Tuscany, that even Guerrazzi was indignant. On the 25th of

March, the Constituent met. On the evening of the 27th, it named Guerrazzi Dictator; and on the 4th of April, it decided against the union with Rome. Signal courage was shown in those first sittings by the physician Venturucci, who broke the thread of the debate to propose the restoration of the Sovereign under the Constitutional Statute. Now that Piedmont was beaten, and Europe uttering threats, Guerrazzi clearly saw that to be the only course remaining. The insurrection of Genoa, however, either revived his hopes of a general rising, or checked his wish for a restoration in Tuscany. He sent thither his agents with instigations and assistance; and he allowed Montanelli to exert himself there with effect in feeding and blowing up the flame. When, however, Genoa was reduced to tranquillity, and Montanelli was gone as Envoy to Paris, it would seem that the Dictator secretly promoted the plan of restoring the Constitutional Throne. But it was too late: the tumults ever reviving spread wider: the bands from Leghorn, while they composed them, kindled fresh hatred by their violence: that unruly and contentious tribe caused affliction to the gentler Tuscans, and resentment in the Florentine populace. During the Easter Festival they filled the taverns and the streets with scandals, and came to blows. On the 11th of April, some new squabbles gave rise to a popular outburst: the people of Florence sounded their bells, and took to arms to pay off the Leghorners. Civic blood was shed, and Guerrazzi, mounting on horseback, tried to make peace; but he was met with slights and blows, and

he got off with his life only by betaking himself to the fortress of San Giovanni, together with his friends from Leghorn, whom then he sent away safe by the railroad. Meantime, the Municipality had assumed the functions of Government, and though threatened by some members of the Constituent Assembly, had proclaimed the restoration of the Constitutional Throne, and had invited some of the most distinguished citizens to share in the administration, Capponi among them, who was accompanied to the *Palazzo Vecchio* by the people, shouting "Capponi for ever! none but honest fellows for us!" Guerrazzi, on returning to the *Palazzo Vecchio*, faltered, wheeled about, closed with the restoration, seemed ready to take a seat in the Provisional Executive Committee; but the country people, who had flocked in, as well as the Florentine commonalty, menaced him with death, and he was kept prisoner.

The news of these events in Tuscany came to Rome, doubtful at the first but afterwards unquestionable; and they reached the public, though the Government and its partisans took steps to keep them secret or let them go forth unintelligible. Mazzini spoke of them to the Assembly on the 14th in these terms: "Since you elected us, the Italian reaction has advanced a stage. In Piedmont and in Genoa, treason has triumphed for a time; and now the reaction has made one step in Tuscany towards triumph." He did not advise prudence, but rather denounced it; "Energy, doubled, tripled energy" was his cry, as he asked for confidence, and meantime ordained, by way

of proving energy forsooth, that the price of salt should be reduced to one halfpenny per pound, and that the contract which farmed it should be quashed by the good pleasure of the Dictators. The members present cheered at the words of the Triumvir, and at his economical provision; and Armellini rose to say, that in the councils of the Dictators they were actually maturing another measure, "which would produce immense results for the masses," namely, that "the whole of the secularised properties should be appropriated to the people, that is to say to their agricultural industry, being divided into so many long leaseholds, and assigned to occupants." Then came out Galletti too, according to his invariable wont, to offer his tribute of homage to the passions; and he cast abroad his magniloquent phrases, upon which Sterbini, resolved always to stand first in the market of excitement, cried "Let us make a solemn oath rather to be buried beneath the ruins of our country, than to recede from the republican principle we have proclaimed: we swear it!" Then rose up all the members, and shouted "Yes:" whether they swore I cannot say. Next day the following singular Decree was posted through the streets of the city:—

"Having regard to recent events in Italy, the Constituent Assembly of Rome declares, that the Roman Republic, the asylum and bulwark of Italian freedom, will never yield and never compromise. The Representatives and the Triumvirs swear in God's name and the people's, that their country shall be saved."

And the Triumvirs published this further Proclamation: —

"Citizens and Italians!

"With Piedmont betrayed, Genoa fallen, Tuscany perturbed by criminal efforts at reaction, the life, the true life of Italy gathers itself in Rome. Be Rome then the heart of Italy. Be she aroused to generous thoughts, to deeds bold and worthy of your fathers. From Rome, by the power of example, vitality will flow back through the scattered members of the great Italian family. Thus shall the name of Rome, of the Rome of the people, the Rome of the Republic, be blessed in Italy, and permanently glorious in Europe.

"To Lombard, Genoese, and Tuscan, to all our brethren in country and in faith, Rome opens a mother's arms. The soldier will find here an Italian camp, the unarmed an Italian shelter. For us nothing is altered. Strong in the commission we derive from God and from the people, strong in the approval of the majority; immovably determined never to compound with conscience, we will, upon the principles we have been elected to represent, uphold inviolate the ensign of the Republic, the ensign of virtue and of order, of power well defined, and of success. Let the good sustain us, energetic in their calm. Let the people rely on us, as we rely on them. Then shall we hold our ground. Love and blessing upon those who, with redoubled vigour, rally around our republican standard. Woe to him that would lay hands on it! Rome is the home of things eternal. Be the Republic of Rome eternal, for the defence of concord, for the honour of the people, for the salvation of Italy, which, for inspiration and encouragement, now looks to Rome alone."

They then enacted, according to the promise of Armellini, that the rural estates of the religious corporations should be divided into a given number of allotments, each sufficient to employ one or more

families of the people having no other livelihood, who should receive them in free and perpetual lease, burdened only with a moderate (and redeemable) feu-duty to the Office of Public Estates. Meanwhile the Deputies, who had been commissioned to frame the Constitution of the Republic, had brought their labours to a close; and Agostini, after reading a long Preamble, laid the draft before the Assembly. The fundamental principles were, that Sovereignty resides in the people by imprescriptible right; that all citizens are free and equal; that every nationality is to be held sacred; that the Catholic Religion is the Religion of the State. One Chapter set forth the rights and duties of citizens generally; that their persons and property were inviolable; the punishments of death and confiscation abolished; the press and right of association free; the public debt guaranteed. The Second Chapter treated of the exercise of public powers; the people were to give the law through the mouth of their representatives; the executive was delegated to a Consular Magistracy; the judicial body was to render to each his right in terms of the law; a Tribunate was to watch for the security of the fundamental laws of the Republic. The people were to elect Representatives, Consuls, and Tribunes, in general meetings; every citizen of full age to be an elector and also qualified for a seat; and to be qualified at thirty for the Consulate and Tribunate. The function of Representative to subsist for three years, of Consul for two; each year one of the two Consuls to go out. The Tribunes to be twelve, holding office

five years. In the Assembly, itself indissoluble, was to vest the legislative power, with the prerogative of peace and war. Upon a Bill, if once carried by less than two-thirds of the House, the Tribunes might require a second decision; and again a third, if upon the second vote the Ayes should be less than three-fourths of the whole number of members. Should the Assembly think fit to appoint a Dictatorship, the Tribunate should be permanent, and should watch for the opportunity of re-assembling the representatives the moment the country was out of danger. Each Consul was to be responsible for the other; the Consuls to have the prerogative of mercy, and the appointments to public office. Should they be impeached, then the Tribunes should choose three of their own body to discharge the consular functions. The Tribunes were to be inviolable during their term of office, and for one year after it; to be re-eligible at the end of the quinquennial term, without limit. A Council of State, comprising fifteen members selected from the various Provinces, was to form a Consultative Board for the Consuls, and to present candidates for office. The judicial body was to be independent and irremoveable; the Judges to be appointed by the Consuls on the presentation of the Council of State; the jury to be judges of the fact in criminal causes; a Court of Censorship to be erected for the political offences of Consuls. As to revision of the Constitution, the enactment was, that it should not take place until after a year, and upon the thrice repeated vote of the Assembly, with intervals of six months each time; a

vote, too, which must receive the sanction of the Electoral Colleges.

On the day when this project of a Constitution was submitted to the Assembly (it was the 17th of April), Audinot rose to point out the necessity of enlightening Europe about the condition of the Roman States, the rights of the inhabitants, the acts and intentions of the representatives of the people. Audinot was the only person who, since the Republic had been proclaimed, had at all seasons striven to make manifest the serious perils that overhung the new-born State, from the eagerness of the European Potentates, Catholic and non-Catholic, to cloke their schemes with religious zeal. Accordingly, founding himself on the declarations, hesitating in form but positive in substance, which the Minister of Foreign Affairs had recently made in the Assembly of France about the Pope's restoration, Audinot proceeded to state the necessity of announcing that, without prejudice to the national right of freedom and independence, the Assembly was prepared to negotiate terms with all the Catholic Powers for securing the liberty and independence of the Church and of the Roman Pontiff. Although this speech aroused some opposition, because certain persons apprehended it was a trick to entangle them in political negotiations, still, the Assembly decided upon sending to the Governments and Parliaments of France and England a public remonstrance or manifesto, the composition of which was intrusted by the President to Audinot, Agostini,

and Lisabe Ruffoni. At the sitting of the next day it was read and approved in the following terms:—

"Republic of Rome.

"*The Constituent Assembly to the Governments and Parliaments of France and England.*

"The Representatives of the free Roman people address words at once of remonstrance and of trust to the Governments and Parliaments of the two most free and most powerful nations of Europe.

"The world is aware that for many ages we were governed by the Church in matters temporal, according to those peculiar forms of absolute authority with which she rules in the spiritual sphere: hence it happened that here, amidst the light of the nineteenth century, the darkness of the middle age prevailed; civilisation was encountered often with open war, always with inert resistance, and it was a crime for us even to feel or call ourselves Italians.

"The world likewise knows, that we repeatedly endeavoured to vindicate our freedom; but Europe forced us to expiate, by an heavier servitude, the efforts through which every other people gained renown. At length, after long tribulation, the day of redemption appeared to dawn; and we placed confidence in the power of ideas, in the overruling force of events, in the mild spirit of our Sovereign: yet we chose to be Italians first of all, and it was our sin: we thought we were free, and it was our delusion. The time arrived when our Sovereign deserted us, and we were left without a Government: there lacked not those who sought for a compromise, but in vain; the very messages of the Parliament and the Municipality were spurned; the people still patiently prolonged the time; but the refugee Government never more pronounced one word of freedom or of kindness; it saddled three millions of men with the excesses of a handful; and when we set about the only measures open to us for reconstructing the authority which the Sovereign in effect had abdicated, we got curses from the Priest.

"The world knows too that our Assembly took its rise from the vote of the whole community, which, exercising perforce an imprescriptible right, determined to quash for ever the theocracy, and to proclaim the Republic. No one resisted; no voice, but that of the ousted, made itself audible in complaint.

"Yet Europe means to listen to that voice, and appears to forget the story of our woes, and she, too, seemingly confounds what belongs to the spiritual with what lies in the temporal sphere.

"The Roman Republic has decreed the Pontiff's independence and the free exercise of his spiritual power, and has thus demonstrated to the Catholic world how deeply sensible it is of the right to liberty in religious action that is inseparable from the supreme Headship of the Church. To maintain it intact, the Roman Republic will add to the moral security supplied by the devotion of all our Catholic brethren, the material guarantee of whatever force is at her disposal. But Europe, so far as appears, is not satisfied with this, for the assertion is in fashion, that the continuance of the Roman Pontiff's temporal power is of moment to Catholicism.

"In this view we invite the Governments and Parliaments of France and England to consider, what right any person whosoever can allege to impose any kind of Government whatever on an independent people; with what wisdom the idea can be cherished of restoring a Government by its own essence incompatible with civilisation and with freedom, a Government disqualified morally ages ago, and materially more than five months back, without an attempt by any one, not even by the clergy, to lift its flag anew; lastly, with what prudence an effort can be made to shore up an authority unanimously detested, and on this ground alone incapable of permanence, though capable of provoking afresh incessant disturbances, conspiracies, and overthrows.

"If we go on to state, that such a Government cannot identify or reconcile itself with liberty and civilisation, we have ample grounds; since the experiment we have made of

a Constitution proves, that the alleged affinity between spiritual and temporal matters hampers its working and its development. For here the Ecclesiastical Canons reduced the State-law to a nullity; public education and instruction, under the sway of the theocracy, were the privilege or monopoly of the clergy, the circulation of property was stopped by mortmain, ecclesiastics were exempt and privileged against the courts, while laymen were likewise subject to the courts spiritual; conditions all these so foreign to liberty and civilised society, that any free people would rather endure half a score of wars, than put up with any one of them. And Europe, which so often has been excited and disturbed by that priestly power, wont with the thunderbolts of the Church to set States on fire, how can she conceive it endurable, at this day, for three millions of men to submit to a sway, that not only awards temporal punishment to those who offend it by making use of a political right, but likewise threatens them with the damnation of the soul? Europe can never think a Sovereignty, which is able to abuse its enormous priestly authority by troubling consciences in favour of its political power, to be compatible with free institutions.

"We rest assured, that England and France, so justly jealous of their independence, can never design that there should be in the centre of Italy an Italian people, without part or lot in the nation, politically subjected, as a fief, to the Catholic world at large, and accordingly shut out from the universal right of nations, and turned into an appanage for the clergy. For the people of Rome are the masters of the Roman State; and if the Catholic world be authorised to interfere as to matter of religion, it cannot do so without manifest injustice as to matter of politics, as to the social compact. Again, while the neutrality of an entire nation is intelligible and allowable, neutrality cannot in like manner be imposed upon a fraction of one, upon the central section, upon the State which, by its position, intersects and marches with almost all the other sections of Italy. This State never

can be shut out, by treaties and protocols, from participating in the vitality of the nation.

"The Representatives of the Roman people would consider they were casting a slur on the political wisdom of the Governments and Parliaments of France and England, if they supposed them capable of ignoring the rights, and the grounds, here summarily set forth, and the interest and profit of Europe itself, which must be concerned in insuring tranquillity, through insuring the termination of the Government by priests. Assuredly it would not be our fault, if the restoration be not resisted with fixed, hardy, and unconquerable determination; nor could Europe justly impute to us the unexampled calamities that might ensue, nor the damage which might result, from a forcible and sanguinary restoration, to the Catholic authority of the Popedom itself. We are certain that England and France will aid, by advice and action, in averting these evils, that so those bonds of friendship may progressively be drawn closer, which ought now to unite together all free nations."

Some members, with the Prince of Canino at their head, wished the Assembly to transmit that manifesto through its own representatives and deputies to France and England; but the contrary opinion prevailed, which devolved on the Government the business of charging its Envoys in Paris and London with that duty. But these Envoys were not recognised as such, nor were their course and proceedings of a kind to turn to the advantage of the Republic; for in France they laid their account upon the patronage of the enemies of the Government, more than on that of the Government itself and the predominant party in the Assembly. The Triumvirs further despatched Leone Carpi to France, that he might set

about procuring arms, of which they had previously been in quest; and to London Manzoni, the Minister of Finance, that he might endeavour to negotiate the paper of the old Rothschild Loan.* This at least was the ground they alleged for his journey; though some said it was a plea he had himself invented for getting out of the scrape; while others alleged that the Triumvirs did not confide in him, because he openly censured their proceedings, and because, although a Minister of the Republic, and beyond all bounds in his revolutionary language, he yet kept on good terms with the constitutional party. Sure it is, that he had no sooner quitted Rome, than the Clubs began to sound their wonted trump against him loud enough; the sound as usual was one of accusation. When Manzoni was thus out of the way, the Triumvirs appointed a Commission to take charge of the Finances; composed of Valentini from Canino, Constabili from Ferrara, and a certain Brambilla from Milan, who was a confidant of Mazzini. This Commission, if it did not proceed to effect any great good for the State, hindered great evil; for all the three members were rigidly honest, and Valentini was experienced in public business, besides being assiduous, and endowed with many virtues. When he took the Finance department, he found nothing in the Exchequer but a few thousand crowns in paper, while the Provinces were claiming the subsidies voted for trade by the Assembly, and Ferrara very reasonably demanded

* Vol. I. p. 145.

the reimbursement of the mulct imposed by Haynau. The Roman Consols had gone down to 83, and were drooping every day, as fresh Stock was sold to meet the most urgent wants. The Commission stopped all further sales, and arranged that the Bank of Rome should lend 200,000 crowns, receiving against them an equal sum in Consols, and setting off the interest of the one against the other. In this way they got means for sending some aid to Ferrara and to the other Provinces. It was indeed an impossibility to place and conduct the administration of the Finances on the old footing. Amidst its countless irregularities, one of the gravest was that of the (so called) "suspended warrants." This specious title, inscribed on the balance-sheets, signifies the bringing to account of payments made by the Cashier on mere private orders of the Prelate who is Treasurer, and who credits the Cashier for them without any other check. It was hopeless to find the thread-end of the tangled skein, especially as regarded the accounts of the Departments of Public Works and War. Galli was applied to by the Commission for elucidations, as he had long been the winder of it, and was the only person that could see his way in that confusion which he had done his best to create, or continue, or thicken. This man, although he had not subscribed the formula of obedience to the Republic, and did not continue in office, yet used still to give advice and to job about the finances, in which, by means of his relations and hangers-on, he continued to have some hand. He contented himself, however, with

grumbling to the Republican Ministers about the ingratitude of the Papal Government, which, according to him, had never yet remunerated him for that notorious balance-sheet of the ten years' period, which I had to mention before.* The past therefore afforded no groundwork for a reformed management, and accordingly the Commissioners closed the old books and opened new ones. They abolished, immediately upon learning it, that vile former practice of dividing the product of the fines on the Stamps and Registry between the Treasurer and the Board of Direction; ordering that these proceeds should be spent for account of the Hospitals, until other provision should be made by law. They objected to the completion of the instruments for secularising the Church property, until the Government of the Republic should have provided the promised stipend for the clergy; and in this way they stopped malversation, frauds, and annoyances. As the Congregation of Revision no longer existed, they established an office for the liquidation of arrears. The Fiscal Council, too, was gone, which, in terms of the Legislative and Judicial Regulation of November 1834, was empowered to validate certain civil acts; so they arranged, that the Government should provide in some other convenient form for their confirmation. I shall give in the sequel, as occasion shall arise, further information and evidence of the signal probity, as well as of the activity and judgment, of this Commission of Finance, which rendered its services to the country without remuneration.

* Vol. I. p. 147.

CHAP. VIII.

CAUSES OF PUBLIC DISCONTENT.—ASSASSINATIONS IN ANCONA, AND THEIR REPRESSION. — HOPES AND ENDEAVOURS OF THE CLERICAL PARTY. — PLOTS. — PADRE ROSSI, AND THE CIRCULAR ON WHICH HE WAS FOUND GUILTY. — ATTEMPTED RISING IN THE PROVINCE OF PESARO. — AFFRAYS IN THE PROVINCE OF ASCOLI. — COMMITTEE OF OBSERVATION AND RECENT MEETINGS IN ROME. — MISTRUST OF BOLOGNA. — COMMISSIONERS DISPATCHED THITHER. — CONSULTATIONS AT GAETA. — DISSENSIONS IN THEM. — NEWS OF THE TUSCAN RESTORATION ARRIVES THERE. — MANIFESTO AND PROMISES OF THE GRAND DUKE. — RANCOUR OF THE NEAPOLITAN AND ROMAN COURTS. — HOPES OF THE DUC D'HARCOURT. — FRESH JOURNEY OF M. MERCIER TO ROME. — HIS PROCEEDINGS. — REMARKS ON THEM. — ON THE COURSE OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS. — THE MUNICIPALITIES. — LEGHORN. — TUSCANY GIVEN OVER BY FRANCE TO AUSTRIA.

THE exertions of the Finance Commission met with praise; but the difficulties in the Exchanges, the depreciation of the paper money, and the commercial distress, pressed hard upon the city, nor could any shifts restore public satisfaction. In truth, as the Government had to buy up coin at high rates to accommodate the soldiery and the workmen, it was itself adding to the discredit of its notes, and to the public losses; and while it was truckling to the idle and to the querulous mob by alms given under the name of wages, it did not relieve (nor had it the power) modest and retiring poverty. The absence of the Pope, the Princes, and the opulent foreigners,

who usually import their gold and vices into Rome, threw many of the townspeople into pecuniary difficulties; and as an uneducated people commonly refers all its blessings and misfortunes to its Government, it came about that many murmured against that of the Republic.

The political assassinations also entailed hatred and discredit: for the revenge which the Sects had cherished in savage spirits, broke out into acts of perfidy with such violence, that the homicides were absolute masters of one or two cities. I may mention Ancona, where in broad day they murdered alike in the open places, in the courts of mansions, and in houses of resort, under the eyes of the soldiery, who let them alone: aye, there were officers of police, who, playing simultaneously the ruffian, the judge, and the executioner, put the townsmen, whom it was their duty by office to defend against injury, to death. Happy he, who could purchase life with gold, or save it by flight, such was the sway of panic over the public mind, such the collapse of all authority, such the insolence of this tyranny. Often in these pages does the sad recollection recur, and the mind indignantly recoils from the relation of details. Freedom abandons the spots defiled by assassination: civilisation disowns, and God at this day punishes with rigid servitude, those atrocious practices. The crimes committed at Ancona with impunity grew to such an height, that the foreign Consuls made complaints to the Government, and spread abroad the horrible relation. Some Deputies from Ancona, Baldi, Pollini,

and Berretta, demanded decisive measures of repression; and Baldi offered to go thither as Commissioner for their enforcement. But these members had voted against proclaiming the Republic, and were reputed to be Moderates: accordingly they were not in such credit, as to make Mazzini willing to confide in them. He sent as Commissioners in their stead Dallongaro and one Bernabei of Sinigallia. These men, miserable trucklers to the lawless butchers and to the sovereign rabble, aggravated the odious reputation of the Government. Later, however, he sent Felice Orsini of Imola, who, to his own great honour, and the no less comfort of the city, took resolute and severe steps for the public security: for, having declared the state of siege, and cheered up the respectable citizens, he arrested the ruffians when off their guard, and consigned them to the tribunals.

The economical straits, the unpunished crimes, and the menaces of powerful States, had stimulated the hopes of the secret favourers of a clerical restoration: and the catastrophe of Novara had heightened anew the spirits of the Sanfedists, fellow-plotters with the stranger. In vain had the Court of Gaeta hitherto made overtures to the soldiery, for, except a few sharpshooters and carabineers, they had all remained steady under the flag of the Republic. Nor had the machinations for a popular rising taken more effect. It is said that in Albano and the neighbouring places, at the time of the elections for the Constituent, an insurrection, in the name of the Pope and the Virgin Mary, had been planned; but the Government at

Rome, having had some inkling or suspicion of it, had taken its measures in time. The Monitory of the Pope, and the exhortations of a portion of the clergy, had not availed to obstruct the elections, or to bring the rural population to revolt. After the Republic had been proclaimed, an ecclesiastic or two from fanaticism, religious or political, tried to rouse them here and there by predictions and prodigies. They said that at San Benedetto in the Marches an image of St. Francis put on an horror-stricken visage, that a Madonna *de' Dolori* wept at Fermo, and that in Rome a girl of humble class had had a vision of the Virgin. In Orvieto and its neighbourhood the Latin text of a pretended prophecy by a German was circulated among the people; which stated that in the middle of the nineteenth century the nations would be disturbed, their Sovereigns and the Supreme Pontiff fugitives; but that a King from the North would descend into Italy by the Divine aid, would crush the Republics, restore the Princes to their regal seats, and the Vicar of Christ to Rome. At Cività Vecchia, and at San Giovanni *in Persiceto*, there were other sorts of divination. To prophecies and miracles were added other incentives; not, however, potent enough to achieve the miracle of a clerical restoration by the people's hands. The Suffragan Bishop of Cività Vecchia, Monsignor Bocci, received from Gaeta by the French steam-vessels secret letters, information, and orders: the Consul of Naples giving his aid. Mannucci, sent thither as President in lieu of Bucciosanti, seized from a single priest forty letters asking

for information about the preparations for the meditated enterprise, encouraging the parish-priests to promote it with caution, and holding out hopes of early foreign succour. Monsignor Bocci was arrested, and it then appeared that the plot was in few hands; one or two friars and priests, one or two women, and a master-mason.

The directions, issued by the Republican Government about preparing the inventories for the ecclesiastical properties, gave rise to troubles. The Vicegerent of the Roman Vicariate wrote to the heads of the religious congregations and establishments, encouraging them to resist. Monsignor Vespignani, Bishop of Orvieto, menaced the President Ricci with excommunication, who in turn had him apprehended and conveyed to the Castle of Santangelo in Rome. Cardinal De Angelis too, Bishop of Fermo, was taken up on suspicion of conspiracy, and sent prisoner to Ancona. At S. Andrea di Spello near Fuligno, Padre Rossi, a conventual minor, was arrested, because the functionaries employed to draw out the inventory of his convent deposed that they had found among his papers the following letter: —

"No. 167. (CIRCULAR.) Alfa.

"Alfa. . . . Gaeta, February 15.

"Beloved Brethren,

"The God of mercies, before He admits His children to the glory of Paradise, loves that they should gain the palm of martyrdom. The calamitous vicissitudes, which overhang mankind and Religion, require that you, beloved Brother, should use every means intrusted by us to your disposal to

bring about the resumption of our invaded rights, and to frustrate the intrigues of our enemies. Liberal, Jacobin, Carbonaro, Republican, are so many synonyms for men that mean to destroy Religion and all its ministers; but we will annihilate, instead, the very ashes of their race. Persevere with all your zeal in cultivating, as you have ever done heretofore, intercourse with the religious near you, and with the country people of the neighbourhood. Tell them, not, when the tocsin sounds, to miss that hallowed gathering, at which each of us must without shrinking plunge his weapons into the breasts of those, who profane our holy religion. Reflect on the petitions we put up to the Most High; that He would destroy our enemies utterly, not sparing the very babes; so as to avert the vengeance, which these might one day inflict on our little ones. Mind, in a word, that, when we shall raise the cry of reaction, every man of you fearlessly does the like: means have already been taken for our knowing one another.

"To the Rev. Father Rossi."

Padre Rossi, on the evidence of this document, was afterwards publicly tried and sentenced to the galleys; but he denied at the time, and has again denied since the Restoration, its authenticity. Two other friars were arrested together with Rossi. One, Padre Iachetti was acquitted; the other Padre Gambucci, was kept two months in prison with a view to further inquiries.

At Ginestreto, a small place five miles from Pesaro, on the last night of March, and on Sunday April 1st, a crowd of villagers, headed by one Domenico Oliva, entered the Church, and, after having their arms and flags blessed, began to toll the bells; they then sallied forth, and pulled down the Republican ensigns, proceeding successively to Santangelo, Monte Cicardo,

and Monte L'Abate, in the direction of Mombaroccio, Oliva's native place, and the most populous in that district. The townsmen closed the gates, and repulsed the insurgents; they took refuge in the Convent of the Recollet Friars on the slope of Mount Beato Santi, whence they were shortly after driven, and routed by the troops whom President Cattabene dispatched from Pesaro.

At Teramo, in the kingdom of Naples, but on the confines of the Roman State, there was plotting of a tougher tissue; under the advice and guidance of Monsignor Savelli, who had been nominated Pontifical Commissioner Extraordinary, and with the aid of the Neapolitan Government. About 1500 men met there in arms, between Neapolitan soldiers, mountaineers, and brigands; they were divided into legions, commanded in chief by a certain Priest Taliani, formerly a Colonel of the Gregorian Centurions, and now appointed by Cardinal Antonelli First Commandant of the volunteers in the Marches. Priests and friars walked at the head of some of the bands, and, with the Crucifix in their hands, kindled both political and religious frenzy. They visited the petty towns, levied contributions, and took hostages, but could not manage to make the population join them, although they went about in the names and with the colours of the Pope and the King of Naples. Colonel Roselli, the commander of the Republican troops in the province of Ascoli, marched on the 12th of April against the insurgents, surprised them near Coperso, and drove them over the rocks. He then rested his men,

pursued them afresh towards San Gregorio, and again routing them, spent the night in that village. Next day he moved upon Acqua Santa, where Captain Constantini, with a party of the National Guardsmen of Ascoli, was besieged by the revolters. Him he liberated, and then marched to Arquata. On the way thither is a pass called the *Castagne Coperte*, celebrated for the slaughter which the brigands made there of the French in 1809. Roselli occupied the Capo di Rigo, took the insurgents unawares, and pursued them to Arquata, from whence they fled, absconding into the kingdom of Naples, shortly afterwards to return thence to their work. Hereof I shall speak bye and bye.

These feeble attempts sufficed to keep alive hope in the partisans of clerical domination, and suspicion in the Republicans. The former employed the reports of these scanty and made-up movements, to make the foreigners believe there was an unanimous mania of love for the paternal supremacy of the clergy. The latter vaunted their easy victories, and magnified the scale of the conspiracies and the reaction, in order to magnify that of their own power, and to be excused for their passion. And just as the clergy had their centurions fed on fanaticism, the Republic had its centurions too, who in secret gatherings swore to take vengeance, not only on their real foes, but likewise on such Liberals, as could not accommodate every feeling and idea to their pure democratic liberalism. In Rome they appointed a Committee of Observation, no less mischievous to the

Government than hostile to the security of the citizens. It compiled lists for proscription, and ventured to issue from the press, and post on the walls, an intimidatory Proclamation, in the name of its heads, and among them of Sterbini. Envious amateurs, too, in the work of the spy and the hangman, they packed their gangs, on the plea of public safety, but for the ends of cupidity and revenge; and they alleged that this was authorised by the right of association. The intentions and decisions of these gangs were not kept so close as to be impenetrable; the Government was indignant, and watched them; the menaced citizens either kept their arms about them, or feeed one of the assassins for protection. History cannot vouchsafe to take particular account of such filth. Sure it is, that as the danger of foreign intervention grew, these cross humours were in higher fermentation; and the resentment against the Constitutionalists increased, as though they had been the source of the Republic's ailments, and accomplices in the plots of the clerical party and in the intrigues of the stranger. The thoughts of mistrustful spirits were ever intent upon Bologna; and some men were at pains to make out a case of necessity for chastising her, and instigated the Government to send thither Commissioners of Inquisition. In fact, Andreini and one Savelli a Modenese, both members of the Assembly, did go there in the beginning of April; and Rusconi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, went also, perhaps to observe and temper their proceedings. But Biancoli, then governing Bologna, when he had learned the purpose of that

mission, took care, by his frank declarations and prudent measures, that it should not bring forth any fruits of bitterness for the inhabitants.

The Constitutionalists did not conspire either in Bologna, in Rome, or anywhere else; but they did foresee the overthrow of all free institutions, and, at the request of France, they held some correspondences, with a view to placing them under her protection. It must be admitted, that in the conferences at Gaeta M. D'Harcourt did not fail to urge the maintenance of the Fundamental Statute; which too was invariably pressed on Pius IX. by Rosmini and Montanari, who kept their devotion, on the rock of Gaeta, no less to the Catholic Church and the Pontiff, than to their country, to civilisation, and to the free constitution. But both the one and the other had fallen into disfavour with the Court. Rosmini had transferred his abode to Naples; Montanari, who had distinguished himself on the 15th and 16th of November by singular devotedness to his Sovereign, and had received from him the acknowledgments of a mind deeply stirred by gratitude, and who, by following Pius IX. into exile, had drawn down on himself odium and grievous calumny, even he was not heeded, but rather misliked, by the Court and the foreign ministers. At their conferences, the diplomatists debated whether, when the Papal throne should have been restored, the Statute should be upheld, or quashed, or modified, and in what way. Only the Duc D'Harcourt inclined to the first course; the majority to the second; Cardinal Antonelli made a show of embracing the last, because, clear-

headed and expert in the grammar of the Court of Rome, he well knew how it would manage to conjugate the verb "to modify." Speaking of modifications, the liberty of the press and the National Guard were absolutely doomed; great generosity in the way of municipal and provincial institutions was trumpeted and promised; the usual form of liberalism with those who do not like, or do not understand, the representative system, in which the Parliament of the State guards, harmonises, and perfects those local liberties. They then proceeded gradually to raise the ghost of a Consulta, and the language held was, that a middle term ought to be found between the Consulta and the Constitution. But they never came to any arrangement; indeed it seemed that those who met did not comprehend one another, and, to say the truth, such ideas were not easy of comprehension or of definition. Or, more correctly still, they understood one another but too well; Cardinal Antonelli wanted a pure restoration, wanted the restored Throne to be free, but nothing else; just the old uncontrolled clerical fatherhood. The King of Naples, as may easily be imagined, went right gladly into this view, being steadily set upon giving subsequently the model precept, and development of fatherhood, as construed and practised in that quarter. Austria laid down no conditions; the champion of the Church, she declared herself anxious for nothing else than to profit the Church by her arms, and that the Holy Father should do his pleasure. Such was the surface; what Austria wanted in her heart was clear; to let the clergy have

full scope to destroy those free institutions, that she herself is, and ever will be, unable to found for her subjects; and then trust the clergy for setting up a Government worse than hers. Martinez della Rosa stood by Austria and Naples, most of all by Cardinal Antonelli; for he affirmed, that the Catholic Powers could not so wrong the Pontiff as to mistrust his liberal intentions. The Duc D'Harcourt, when he had learned the views of his colleagues, declared that his powers were not sufficient nor his instructions precise enough to proceed to an agreement; thus gaining time, he wrote to Paris that the liberties of the Roman State were in jeopardy, while it was clear that Austria, Naples, and Spain, apprehensive of the influence of France, were bent upon gratifying all the cravings of the clergy, and on employing both authority and arms to insure clerical domination in Rome, and Austrian preponderance in Italy.

About this time, tidings came to Gaeta of the restoration of the Tuscan Throne by the people, and of the guarantees given to liberty by the men who had taken into their hands the helm of State. Then arrived delegates, who, in the name of the people, tendered the Crown to the Grand Duke on the bases of the Constitution and the national cause. It is said the Grand Duchess exclaimed, "See, we have lost the opportunity of *a good restoration.*" It is certain that the Tuscan Court, which had made its arrangements for founding a restoration upon Austrian bayonets, could not be well pleased with one achieved by the people of Florence. The Grand

Duke shut himself up in council with his confidants. They were pinched by the unforeseen event, and by that very trust in the sincerity of the Prince which the Tuscan Delegates evinced; and they advised him to give a public engagement to uphold the free institutions. Accordingly Leopold II. issued a Proclamation, in which he formally promised it; and sent Serristori as his Commissioner, to Florence, to give proof of his good faith, and provisionally to govern the State. Now, if this kind of restoration did not suit the Court of Tuscany, much less was it palatable to those of Rome and Naples: to them it seemed a perfect scandal, that the Grand Duke should recover a lost Crown in such a manner and with such engagements. To the Duc d'Harcourt, on the contrary, it appeared a fortunate chance, and he hoped that the example of Tuscany would be wholesome, both for the people of the Roman State, and for the clergy: he trusted, that if France should arouse vigour in the former, and apprehension in the latter, by a prompt military demonstration on Roman ground, the schemes of the Conferences at Gaeta would prove abortive. He therefore lauded the Tuscans for effecting the restoration, and the Grand Duke for upholding the Constitution; and, with a view to his pet idea of a restoration of the Pope by means of the Constitutionalists acting under the countenance of France, he once more sent M. Mercier to Rome with instructions to recommend and pave the way for it. In these proceedings of the Minister of France, the Roman Court found cause for anxiety; and repined

at the diplomatic finesse which procrastinated its triumphs. The Holy Father said to an individual, "One of these days, I will act in my own way, and make an end of this scandalous affair."

M. Mercier, when he had got to Rome, resumed his communications with a few Constitutionalists. He announced the early arrival of French troops at Civita Vecchia, to hinder Austria, as he said, from domineering in the Roman States, and erasing every vestige of freedom. He besought them to try if it were possible to effect a restoration with the aid of the National Guard, and of the Carabineers, whom some reported to be ready for it. He advised them to obtain the signatures of Municipalities to manifestoes, requesting the countenance of France, to give steadiness to the Papal Throne on the basis of the free institutions. But when asked whether the Pope and the Court of Rome were parties to this course, he answered no: and betrayed the fact, that he was seeking for the co-operation of the Constitutionalists only in order to render it easy for the French Government to make a case for an armed intervention. He argued, it is true, that, when the restoration should have been completed by the hands of the people, and on the condition of a representative government, and when France would have engaged her own name, honour, and arms, in such an achievement, the people might feel secure of their liberties. But he deceived himself, as did every other statesman who, when once the cause of Italy had been so utterly ruined, still hoped to overcome the stubbornness of

the Papal Court. If France had really wished to help Italy, to acquire there influence and gratitude, and to make provision for her own honour and interest, she should not have come to Rome in April, but should have carried her arms long before into Upper Italy: for Austria is to be combated on the Mincio and the Adige, not on the Tiber. As long as Austria is safe on the side of Piedmont, and France allows this her vanguard to be worsted, Austria will be mistress of Lower Italy, the humbled handmaid of her conquests. Even had these projects of a restoration by the people been feasible, which they were not, by what means could France have inclined the Pope to a liberal policy? And, if he had not chosen so to bend, would France have ventured on resuming the very war against him, that the Roman Republic was now waging? Nor could the Constitutionalists countenance such an enterprise in the teeth of their Sovereign, of the clergy, and of their party, without any guarantee on the part of France. They undoubtedly believed, that the Republic was not founded on the opinion and assent of the community, but they likewise knew, that the clerical government was to such a degree detested by the educated laity, the high-minded youth, and all who were warmed with the sentiment of nationality, that the mere dread of contributing to its reinstatement, would have restrained every man of liberal principles from any sort of co-operation in the scheme meditated by France. They thought, further, that if France should come down into Italy in arms for the Pope,

without guaranteeing the representative institutions, she not only would ill consult her own character and influence, but would revive the credit of the Republican Government, which economical distresses, the unpunished enormities of the sectarians, and the infatuation of its heads, had reduced to such weakness, that it was going to pieces of itself.

As to the Municipalities, from which was sought an expression of confidence in France, the Constitutionalists considered it would be hard to get, partly because for a long time the policy of France has not been of a nature to invite the friendship and confidence of the Italians, partly because, in some of the towns, the Clubs and the Sects had the upper hand; but most of all, because no man could rely on either the good sense or the liberal feeling of the clergy, while France would not enter into any pledges either for them or for herself. The Municipal Councils had been chosen according to the terms of the measure promulgated by the Provisional Government; and as all orders of the community had shared in the elections, their composition was the best possible. Almost universally, the moderate party had prevailed, especially in the larger cities; nor did the Republic find its passionate admirers there; but public opinion in them was likewise adverse to the dominion of the clergy, which had left the very worst recollections behind it, along with that inheritance of feuds and ignorance, whose bitter fruits were now being pulled. A few Constitutionalists, however, were disposed to use efforts for inducing the Municipalities to express

desires conformable to that which Mamiani had expressed to the Duc D'Harcourt: a protest against all foreign invasion, and an appeal to France for the maintenance, and for guarantees, of the free institutions. But these efforts had scarcely been begun, when they were interrupted by the headlong torrent of events.

Leghorn, the first to worry Tuscany with her tumults, and now latest and solitary in her frenzy, would not agree to the restoration of the constitutional monarchy; preferring to it anarchy within the circuit of her own walls, and beyond them the risk of a civil war, as well as the attacks of Austria, whose troops had come down to Massa and Carrara, and were astir upon the old frontier of Tuscany: a very marvel of a plea for the Court, to give decorum to its request for succour, for Austria to stretch down to the Mediterranean, and for France to fold her arms. And France, content simply to get into Italy without lighting up an European war, surrendered Tuscany to Austria, who allowed her in return the boast and the honour of a share in the Catholic crusade.

CHAP. IX.

LETTER OF LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE TO THE "CONSTITUTIONNEL," ON THE 2ND DECEMBER. — DISPATCH FROM M. DROUIN DE L'HUYS TO M. DE LA COUR, MINISTER AT VIENNA. — ANOTHER TO M. D'HARCOURT. — PROPOSAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO CIVITÀ VECCHIA. — SPEECH OF M. JULES FAVRE, REPORTER OF THE COMMITTEE. — LANGUAGE OF M. ODILLON BARROT, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL. — OPPOSITION TO THE MOTION. — SPEECH OF GENERAL LAMORICIÈRE. — VOTE OF THE ASSEMBLY. — THE INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL OUDINOT. — HIS ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS AT MARSEILLES ON THE 20TH OF APRIL. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE AT CIVITÀ VECCHIA. — AVEZZANA, MINISTER OF WAR. — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL OUDINOT'S ENVOYS TO THE GOVERNOR OF CIVITÀ VECCHIA. — VIEWS OF THE GOVERNOR, THE MUNICIPALITY, AND THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS. — MISREPRESENTATIONS OF M. D'ESPIVENT. — HIS WRITTEN DECLARATION. — PACIFIC DETERMINATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY. — PLANS OF GOVERNOR MANNUCCI. — PROTEST OF THE ROMAN ASSEMBLY. — DISTURBANCE AT CIVITÀ VECCHIA. — PROMISES OF GENERAL OUDINOT. — TERMS AGREED ON. — DEBARCATION OF THE FRENCH FORCE. — PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL OUDINOT. — STATEMENT ADDRESSED TO HIM BY THE MUNICIPALITY. — HIS DISPLEASURE. — OBSERVATION.

When, on the Pope's departure from Rome, General Cavaignac announced to the French Assembly the orders he had given for dispatching certain troops from Marseilles to Cività Vecchia, Louis Napoleon Buonaparte had addressed to the Editor of the *Constitutionnel* Newspaper the following letter, dated 2nd of December: —

"Knowing that my absence from the vote on the expedition to Cività Vecchia has been remarked, I think it right I should avow, that, however determined to support all measures necessary for securing the freedom and authority of the Supreme Pontiff, I still could not sanction by my voice a military demonstration, which appeared to me dangerous even to the sacred interests it sought to protect, and calculated to compromise the peace of Europe."

Thus wrote Buonaparte a few days before he was elected Chief Magistrate of the French Republic. What were his later views, if indeed he had any view of his own after he had satiated his ambition, is plain enough from the communications held at Gaeta and at Rome by the envoys and agents of France. The ulterior views and resolutions of the French Government are exhibited in the documents that I now place upon record.

M. Drouin De L'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, thus wrote, in the middle of April, to M. De la Cour, Envoy at Vienna: —

"The events which have occurred in such rapid succession for several weeks in the North of Italy, the movements of the Austrian army since its brief struggle with that of Piedmont, the intention openly avowed by Prince Schwartzenberg to interfere in the affairs of all countries near to Lombardy, and lastly the conduct of his Envoys at Gaeta, who have as yet declined agreeing to any arrangement proposed by our plenipotentiaries; this group of circumstances has led us to the opinion, that, in order to preserve the portion of influence that legitimately appertains to France in the adjustment of the affairs of Central Italy, the maintenance of which is of essential importance to the equilibrium of Europe, she is called upon to assume a more decided attitude.

"The Government of the Republic has resolved upon sending to Cività Vecchia a body of troops under General Oudinot. In coming to this determination, we do not mean to impose upon the Roman people any system of administration opposed to its free choice, nor yet to coerce the Pope, when he shall have been recalled to the exercise of power, into giving effect to this or that scheme of Government. We, believe, and the more firmly as time goes on, that in the natural course of the public mind, the system of administration which began in Rome after the revolution of November last is destined to fall, and that the Roman people will willingly return to its obedience under the Sovereign Pontiff, when he shall have established guarantees against the perils of reaction.

"But we believe likewise, and as you are aware our language on this topic has never varied, that the Papal authority can strike no deep root nor stand secure against future storms, unless it founds institutions calculated to prevent the recurrence of ancient abuses; of those abuses, which Pius IX, with a generous zeal, had undertaken by his reforming measures to destroy. Our expedition has for its aim to facilitate an accommodation on these bases, and to lend to the Holy Father, and to all those who, at Gaeta or elsewhere, are disposed to take a share in the work, the assistance of which they may stand in need, to conquer the obstacles which exaggerated pretensions or criminal passions may interpose. The Prince Schwartzenberg will without doubt comprehend, that, after taking the momentous decisions which I have the honour to convey to you, we have not thought fit to compromise the probabilities of success by delays, which must have been incurred, had we had to submit our statement beforehand to the Conference of Gaeta. The rapid course of events permitted no procrastination. But our intentions are in no point equivocal, and should not be unfavourably construed. What we desire is, that the Holy Father on his return to Rome may find himself in a condition acceptable to himself and to his people, so that Italy and Europe may be spared further

disturbances, and the authority and independence of the States of Italy may be secured against assault.

"The means to which we have recourse are, if I am not deceived, the most suitable for gaining such an end, and ought to have the approval of all the friends of order and of peace. We could not without pain see Austria, to whom the recent occupation of a considerable portion of Upper Italy and her victory over the army of Piedmont have given so large a share of influence in the Peninsula, still seeking, as she has several times allowed us to perceive, a further pledge in the occupation of Bologna. This occupation, profitless in relation to the serious interests of Austria, could have no effect but that of causing uneasiness and excitement."

M. Drouin De L'Huys simultaneously wrote to the Duc D'Harcourt in the following strain: —

"When, in conjunction with M. Rayneval, you shall announce to Cardinal Antonelli the departure of the Division commanded by General Oudinot, you will have the goodness to explain to him clearly the purpose and end of the resolution we have taken.

"The Cardinal will see that, in order to be in a condition for profiting by it, the Pope should hasten to publish a manifesto, such as, by guaranteeing to the people liberal institutions, conformable to their desires and to the exigencies of the times, may succeed in putting all resistance out of the question. This manifesto, published contemporaneously with our debarcation on the shores of the Papal States, would be the signal for an accommodation including every one but an insignificant number of malcontents.

"You cannot too strongly insist on the expediency, and indeed on the necessity, of such a document.

"You will find it easy to show the Envoys to the Conference at Gaeta, that if we have not thought it convenient to wait for its results before acting, it has been because the rapid progress of events has put it out of our power. What we

desire is, that the Holy Father, on his return to Rome, may find himself in a condition acceptable to himself and to his people, which may give Europe and Italy security against further troubles, and may not expose to hazard either the equilibrium or the independence of the Italian States."

Enveloped in these disguises, the French Ministry sought from the Assembly the funds for sending a body of troops to Cività Vecchia, and contrived to bring into their own views the Committee appointed to report on their demand for a vote forthwith. The Republican Jules Favre spoke thus on its behalf:—

"The Committee, which you have charged to examine the question of urgency in relation to the vote of credit demanded by the President of the Council, unanimously recommends you to recognise and affirm this urgency.

"To arrive at this conclusion and explain to you its grounds, the Committee has conceived itself bound to enter thoroughly into the reasons of the proposal, and to inform itself respecting its origin and its political aim. In this manner it has sought to conform its course to your previous decisions, and to the principles which guarantee your independence and sovereignty.

"The Committee has therefore called before it the President of the Council, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. From the explanations they have given, it has been shown that the idea of the Government is not to make France a partner in the overthrow of the Republic at present subsisting in Rome: that it is acting independently, not in the trammels of other powers, and consulting for nothing but its own interest and honour, and the share of influence that belongs to it in every great European question. Your Committee has put upon record these political declarations, and entreats you not to forget them in the course of the discus-cussion now about to commence. Daughter of a people's Revolution, the French Republic could not, without dis-

honour, share in bringing under the yoke an independent nationality. The Assembly, which has so often evinced its sympathies with the Italian cause, cannot degrade its policy by becoming the accomplice of Austria. 'For the very reasons that Piedmont has been worsted, that the armies of the Empire are menacing Tuscany and Romagna in virtue of the rights of war and the privileges of victory, and that in their train would inevitably come an outburst of ferocious reaction; for these very reasons, it is of moment to France, unless she would wholly abdicate her office, that her flag should be unfurled in Italy, in order that under its shadow humanity may be respected, and liberty at least partially safe. Your Committee is of opinion that, by empowering the Executive to occupy a spot in Italy now endangered, you would saddle it with the charge of putting a check on the pretensions of Austria, and of winding up, by means of an arbitration, supported, if necessary, by arms, all the controversies which at present divide the Peninsula, and which both our interest and our honour enjoin us to settle in the most favourable mode at our command for the development of democratic institutions.

"Your Committee is convinced that, by identifying itself with this policy, the Government will retain its hold over every one of the great questions now in debate; and accordingly has the honour to propose, that you should affirm urgency, and proceed forthwith to the discussion of the bill."

M. Odillon Barrot, President of the Council, was interrogated as to the reasons for the enterprise. He said, "You ask us, why we seek to carry our arms to the Italian coast. I conceive that, without departing from the reserve needful at the present juncture, I may reply, that we shall not go to Italy to force a Government, whether it be republican or any other Government, on the Italians." Then M. Emmanuel Arago, dissatisfied with these cloudy

intimations, claimed that the Ministry should lay bare its thoughts, and disclose all its projects to the Assembly and the country. This same M. Odillon Barrot replied, that the object was to maintain a just influence for France in Italian affairs, and to preserve the rights of freedom unharmed in that country. Ledru Rollin then strove to point out, that the weight of France had declined in Italy from her letting Austria alone, both to win and to have all her own way in Lombardy and Piedmont, and from her leaving Venice, Naples, and Messina in the lurch; and that she would decline still more, if she allied with Austria to re-establish the temporal dominion of the Pope. But General Lamoricière, a member of the Committee, then rose, and spoke thus: —

"Had we conceived that France was to enter Italy for the purpose of giving effect to the schemes of Austria, we should not have passed the judgment, nor approved of the determination now under discussion."

"And we" (interrupted Odillon Barrot) "should have been to blame in proposing it."

"France" (the General resumed) "has been invited by the Pope, along with the other Powers, to Gaeta, to lend him aid for his return to Rome. She promptly sent an Envoy thither, that she might be informed of the determinations taken; and when she learned that it was intended to bring back the Pope to Rome, she reserved her freedom to take her own counsel for her own purposes, and according to circumstances. While this was going on, the army of Italian independence was routed at Novara, which may henceforth be termed the Waterloo of Italy. Now the Republic of Rome, with the other communities of Central Italy, who had made use of their political rights, has declared war against Austria, who, being at present victorious, is entitled to avail

herself of belligerent rights. Naples, Spain, and Russia tell her 'move upon Rome; set the Pope upon his throne.'

"You are aware that, should Austria, without any concurrence of ours, bring back the Pope to Rome, a complete counter-revolution would ensue; and, in that case, not only would all be over with the Roman Republic, but all would be over with the liberal institutions, the freedom of Italy, and the French influence. I therefore am of opinion, with the majority of the Committee, that you ought to grant to the Ministry the sum it asks for, and to authorise the occupation of Cività Vecchia. If, after our soldiers have landed, Austria should move on Rome to destroy the Republic, and to re-establish there, together with the Pope, her own influence, we conceive that the Government should be empowered to advance our troops to Rome, to save what can be saved from the wreck; that is to say, if not the Roman Republic, yet the liberties of Italy, along with the influence of France."

So the Assembly approved of the dispatch of troops to Cività Vecchia, and granted the sum proposed, by 325 votes against 283.

To General Oudinot, appointed the Commander-in chief, the Government gave the following orders, or, as they are commonly called, instructions.

"General, I have apprised you of the object of the expedition, at the head of which you have been placed by the Government of the Republic. You are aware that the existence of the present Government of Rome, which we have never recognised, is menaced both with a domestic reaction and with invasion from abroad. On the approach of such a crisis, now become inevitable, it is our duty to take the necessary measures for upholding our influence in the States of the Church, and for bringing about in the Roman territories the revival of a regular order of things, upon foundations conformable to the interests and the rights of the inhabitants.

"Although you have not to interfere in the definitive negotiations which are to lead to this result, you are authorised, nevertheless, to receive any sort of proposition from the subsisting authorities, and to conclude with them such arrangements as you shall think suited to pave the way to that result; only taking care to shun, in matter of form, whatever might be interpreted into an act of recognition of the power from which those authorities have sprung. You will find annexed hereto the draft of the letter, which you will write immediately after your arrival, to the Governor, or Superior Officer, of Cività Vecchia, to request admission into the city. This assuredly will not be refused you. All the information that reaches us leads to the belief that you will be gladly welcomed by the one party as a deliverer, and by the other as a mediator to stay the perils of reaction. If, however, contrary to all likelihood, opposition to your entering Cività Vecchia should be ventured, you are not to be staid by a resistance offered you in the name of a Government not recognised by one Power in Europe, and maintaining itself in Rome contrary to the wishes of the immense majority of the population.

"So soon as you shall have landed in the territory of the Ecclesiastical State, you will enter into prompt communication with M. D'Harcourt and M. Rayneval, charged by the Government of the Republic to conduct at Gaeta all business relating to the mission placed in your hands. You will then be able to proceed in concert with them, and, according to the advices they may transmit to you, to take the measures you shall deem suitable. You will send to Rome one of your officers with orders to explain to the heads of the Government the nature of your mission; to give them distinctly to understand that you are not authorised to uphold the order of things which they represent; and to solicit them to concur in such adjustments as may save the country from the frightful crisis that now overhangs it.

"Your march on Rome at the head of our troops would, without fail, facilitate such a result by encouraging the good.

You will judge whether the circumstances are such as to afford a guarantee, not only against encountering serious resistance, but of a reception positively favourable, so soon as it is plain that you will, by entering, only be meeting the appeal of the population.

"Wheresoever you shall be, until the moment when a regular Government shall have succeeded to that which at the moment is an incubus upon the States of the Church, it will be in your option, as you shall think needful and convenient, whether to uphold the civil authorities, provided they agree to confine themselves to matters merely municipal or of police, and bring about no substantial danger or embarrassment; whether to re-establish those who were formerly in power; or whether to appoint others wholly new, avoiding, as far as possible, the actual conduct of these changes, and limiting yourself to inciting and encouraging the expression of the wishes of the sound part of the population. For your communications with such authorities, you may avail yourself, if you shall think fit, of the channel of the French Consul, whom I place at your disposal.

"These, General, are the only instructions that I am now in a condition to give you. Your good sense will be equal to the emergency, and I, on the other hand, shall not fail to convey to you, from time to time, such new directions as shall be needful. To the present dispatch I subjoin the draft of a Proclamation, which you will issue directly after you shall have effected a landing.

"DROUIN DE L'HUYS."

On the 20th of April, General Oudinot read to his troops at Marseilles a Manifesto, or, as it is called, an order of the day, in which he said nothing either of the Pope, or of the Papal Government which he was to restore, but only of the flag of the French Republic, which it was sought to plant upon the Roman territory, in testimony of affection to its in-

habitants, whom they could not think of leaving subjected either to the caprice of a foreign Power, or to the domination of any party whatsoever not approved by the majority.

Some small preparations for a defence had been made in Civitâ Vecchia, at the time when the intelligence of the French expedition designed by Cavaignac arrived in Rome. A *Giunta* of Public Safety was established, and a Committee appointed to fortify the port and defend it against assault from whatever quarter; the garrison was reinforced, and the population encouraged to resist. More effective preparations were hindered by lack of money and arms, and, yet more, of wise counsel and regulated authority; for the military arrangements, placed under a Board, had, as was natural, reached a degree of irregularity and confusion even greater than in time past. After the affair of Genoa, Avezzana, a refugee and outlaw, had repaired to Rome: where the Triumvirs named him minister. He was brave, and warm in the sentiment of nationality, but he had neither the talent nor the experience requisite for the War department, so that his assistance was not of the use which the Romans anticipated from him, and from each new Minister of War. This must be recorded to his credit, that he showed himself not only a man of probity and good conduct, but of an even-mindedness and self-controul, hardly to be expected from one who came forth vanquished out of the midst of civil discord and conflict still in glow. Of this he gave proof when just arrived in Rome:

for, when his prowess and the revolt of Genoa were magnified as among the glories of Italy, he publicly deplored, in a sad and lowly tone, the strifes of brethren, and that unhappy attempt.

It became known in Rome, on the 24th of April, that the French Assembly had authorised the Government to dispatch troops into the Roman States: but the majority stood firm in the persuasion, that they would come neither immediately nor as foes; and Mazzini himself said in Parliament, that perhaps their aim might be to hinder the intervention of Austria, and to defend the Roman territory: and closed with a declaration, that in the meantime the Republic ought to give fresh assurances to France, and to the other Catholic Powers, of her wish to furnish guarantees for the full and free exercise of the Pope's spiritual authority. But the same day, at nine in the morning, the steam-frigate Panamà, Captain Dubois, arrived in the harbour of Cività Vecchia: and landed M. Latour d'Auvergne, Secretary of Legation, M. Espivent, Aide-de-camp to General Oudinot, and M. Durand de Villers, Adjutant to General Regnaud St. Jean d'Angely; who presented themselves to President Mannucci, and delivered to him the following letter from General Oudinot.

"Mr. Governor,

"The Government of the French Republic, with sincere good will to the population of these States, and anxious to put a period to the state of things under which they have groaned for several months, and to facilitate the establishment of another, alike secured from the anarchy of these last times, and from the inveterate abuses which, before the ele-

vation of Pius IX., desolated the States of the Church, has resolved on dispatching to Cività Vecchia a body of troops, of which it has intrusted me with the command.

"I request you to give the proper instructions, so that the troops, when directly after arriving they proceed to land in conformity which the orders I have received, may be entertained and lodged as befits allies drawn to your country by motives so friendly.

"Accept, Mr. Governor, the assurance of my very particular esteem.

"OUDINOT DI REGGIO,

"General Commanding in Chief, and Representative of the People."

The President asked fourteen hours' time to reply, which sufficed for sending intelligence to Rome and getting orders thence. But as M. Espivent persisted in requiring that the French immediately on arriving should be amicably received, he threatened to resist, and convened the Municipality, the Chamber of Commerce, and the principal officers, that they might hear from the French Envoys an oral statement of their intentions. And when M. Espivent had handed to them for perusal a Proclamation of General Oudinot, which disclosed the intention to restore the Papal Government, the meeting indignantly gave vent to bitter complaints and appeared to be resolved upon resistance. Thereupon Espivent, in the manner of a crafty diplomatist more than of a straightforward soldier, set about allaying their resentment, and plying their minds to his purpose, by giving them to understand that France was an ally and a friend: that the electoral assemblies should choose whatever

form of government they might prefer; that France was intent upon the accomplishment of the public wishes. And he left in writing this assurance.

"*Declaration of the Expeditionary Corps of the Mediterranean to the Governor of Cività Vecchia.*

"The Government of the French Republic, animated by liberal views, declares itself bound to respect the wish of the majority of the population of the Roman States, and that it is only come in the character of a friend, with no aim beyond that of maintaining its legitimate influence here. It is determined to impose no form of government on the population of these States, which they do not themselves desire.

"As respects the Governor of Cività Vecchia, he will be retained in all his functions, and the French Government will make provision for the increase of charge, to result from the increased labour which the Expeditionary Corps will bring upon him. All articles, and all the requisitions necessary for its support, shall be paid for in ready money.

"Cività Vecchia, April 24. 1849.

"The Major of Cavalry and Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief.

"ESPIVENT."

When this Declaration had been printed and published, the Municipality and the Chamber of Commerce leaned to pacific counsels, and resolved that the town should not resist the debarcation of the French troops. Mannucci, however, wrote to General Oudinot that he would be governed, not by that determination, but by such orders as he might receive from Rome: and in the evening he caused the mouths of the harbour to be closed, and the drawbridges to be hoisted: after which he admitted into the city the

battalion of sharp-shooters under Lieutenant-Colonel Melara, and made all the officers of the garrison engage on their honour to obey the orders of the civil power.

At midnight of the 24th, the Assembly at Rome, excited by the news of the impending danger, held a sitting, and, conjointly with the Triumvirs, determined upon the following Protest.

"The Roman Assembly, deeply moved by the menace of invading the territory of the Republic, and aware that this invasion, neither provoked by the proceedings of the Republic in its foreign relations, nor prefaced by any communication from the Government of France, being also an incentive to anarchy in a country tranquil, orderly, and resting in the consciousness of its rights and in the concord of its inhabitants, is alike in violation of the law of nations, of the engagements taken by the French people in their Constitution, and of the ties of brotherhood which ought naturally to connect the two Republics, protests, in the name of God and of the people, against the said unexpected invasion. declares its fixed resolution to resist, and throws upon France the responsibility for all the consequences."

The Minister Rusconi and the Deputy Pescantini set out for Cività Vecchia, to present this remonstrance to General Oudinot.

In the meantime, however, the population of the place, cajoled by Espivent, had begun to raise a cry for peace: and on learning that the President had convened the military officers to execute the orders of resistance that had come from Rome, it became so

tumultuous on the morning of the 25th, that it was found necessary to decide not to oppose the landing of the French troops, provided the General in command should ratify the promises of his Aide-de-camp. These he did actually ratify: and he tendered his friendship to the President, declared the respect of France for any government agreeable to the majority, and settled on these terms; the Roman Government to retain the Civic administration; the Roman troops to garrison the fortress, arsenal, and ramparts, and to hold the gates and cantonments jointly with the French. The National Guard to continue in arms, the Municipality in office: the two tricolor flags to float together on the towers of the place. Thus was the debarcation of the French troops begun and completed without opposition. As they set foot on shore they shouted "the Republic for ever," "Italy for ever": and the people replied with "the Republic of Rome for ever," "the Republic of France for ever."

General Oudinot now immediately published the Proclamation, which Espivent had delivered in for perusal. It was the same which M. Drouin De L'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had framed. Here it is.

"*Expeditionary Corps of the Mediterranean.*

"Inhabitants of the Roman States,

"Amidst the events by which Italy is at present tossed, the French Republic has resolved to send an armed force into your territory; not to defend the subsisting government, which it has never acknowledged, but to avert from your

country great calamities. France does not mean to arrogate to herself the right of regulating what are mainly interests of the Roman people, yet in a large sense concern Europe at large, and the entire Catholic world.

"She believes simply that, in her position, she is peculiarly called upon to interpose, in order to facilitate the establishment of a government equally removed from the abuses which the generosity of Pius IX. has destroyed for ever, and from the anarchy of these last times.

"The flag that I have hoisted on your shores is that of peace, of order, of reconciliation, and of genuine liberty: around it will rally all, who shall desire to share in the accomplishment of this patriotic and holy work."

The tenour of this Proclamation troubled the Republicans; and they made representations and complaints to the Municipality, which at an extraordinary meeting resolved unanimously to address to General Oudinot this statement.

"A short time ago, days of happiness and promise were dawning upon Italy; and the people, although ground down by a lengthened servitude, yet, relying on their Sovereigns, arose and fought at the hallowed cry of national independence, so that the blood of these heroes, destroyed by the arms of tyranny, has consecrated among us the ardent longing of a people, to live free and independent on its own soil. Those days of bliss have vanished: treachery and fraud have been exerted to the uttermost, to bring Italy back to a fresh abjection, and to humiliating dishonour.

"Pius IX., whom we once worshipped as Italy's regenerating Angel, subsequently abandoning the cause of the people, followed the footsteps of his predecessors in the temporal sovereignty, and became the earliest cause of so great a misfortune. Country, honour, life, interest, greatness, of all these we have been robbed through him; who, the fated

victim of the acts of the priestly caste, made himself the hot ally of our persecutors.

"Citizens of France, Generals and Soldiers of the Republic! Will you, who by offering up yourselves at the altar of freedom have so long ago consecrated its principle, crush us who, besmeared with blood, and with wounds yet unhealed gaping in our breasts, have dedicated our affections to freedom and to independence? Deserted by our Prince, who had brought the cause of nationality to ruin, in the free use of our rights we have chosen, like you, by the universal suffrage of a thronging people, our representatives to the Roman Constituent Assembly; and they, as the organs of the popular desire, have proclaimed among us the most advantageous kind of political rule — Republican Government. Generals and Soldiers of the Republic! you surely will not trample on a people, into which alone is now gathered the sacred fire of freedom, everywhere else in this unhappy land extinguished by the domineering force of Croat and Bourbon arms.

"Soldiers of France! we extend to you the hands of brethren; because a free people cannot carry chains to a people struggling into freedom; and the arms in your hands cannot be the steel parricidal to our Republic, but must surely be brandished in defence of right and justice, and as the guarantee of the feeble and the oppressed. Oppressed, General, we have been; and the Popedom, chiefest source of calamities to Italy uninterrupted through ages, never, surely, so help us God! will be reinstated by you, who, mindful of your former glory, of the faith and traditions of your fathers, will recollect, that while to aid the oppressed is more a debt than a virtue, to oppress the feeble is infamy even more than it is treachery.

"The municipality of Cività Vecchia, as the first of the Roman cities where the banner of France has been unfurled, a faithful exponent of the sense of the population, lays before you a protestation of its political creed. Among us reigns order, and not anarchy; here the law is in respect. Our

people awoke to the aspirations of liberty, and will know how to realise them, unless a cruel destiny decree the extinction in this place, by fraternal hands, of that fire of freedom. That fire warms us, and makes us faithful to the Roman Republic, which we will cheerfully uphold, alike in its days of glory, if such are to break upon us, and in its periods of calamity, if this, which God forbid, should overtake us

"General! receive these sentiments as indicative of the wishes of the people at large, who will bless you and your army, if you shall prove brothers to succour us in the hour of misfortune; confident that the day can never come, when Italy shall have to execrate and consign to the scorn of posterity, the honoured name of that France, by whose side our gallant fathers fought in the happy period of her glory, and parted from you only with an oath of brotherhood when heavy calamity smote your country as well as our own.

"Receive, General, the affectionate embraces which this population, trusting in the nobleness and honour of the French nation, offers you through our medium."

General Oudinot in displeasure commanded the impression to be seized, the copies which had been posted to be torn down, and the only printing office in Cività Vecchia to be closed, and put in the custody of the French troops.

See then the French Republic become the van of the foreign crusade! Truly the Republic of Rome was but a weakling, and had lived without honour until that day; but, as the narrative proceeds, we shall see that the effort of so many Powers heartens it, and gains it credit: we shall find French temerity chastised beneath the Roman walls; General Oudinot weaving a chaplet of laurels for Garibaldi; Ferdinand of Naples, who stalked as proudly on as if he were the

King of Kings, carrying back to panting Gaeta the ignominy of a flight; the pompous Spaniards landed to display their impotence; the Germans, to desolate, as heretofore, the cities of Italy with fire and sword. Every hoary oppressor of the country now tramples her hallowed soil, while every Italian spirit gnashes with indignation. Rome resists, and an halo of Italian glory surmounts the bier of the Roman Republic. The strangers, who came down on us to rebuild the throne of the Popes upon the ruins of vanquished cities, and upon the carcasses of men baptized in Christ, have shaped an history for the Roman Republic, and founded in the heart of the rising generation, as a creed, what was formerly but the crotchet of an individual or a sect. The Catholic Priesthood pours benediction on the arms of the stranger, and curses Italy and freedom: thus by degrees do the madnesses and crimes of Kings and of Courts succeed the madnesses and crimes of the people. Kings and Princes set their oaths at nought. One King only in Italy holds his sacred, and keeps faith with freedom, with the Nation, with misfortune. He is of a devout and even highminded stock: he is Victor Emmanuel the Second, he is the son of Charles Albert. He was gallant in the field, and on the throne his grateful people style him the Truehearted King. Yet by his brother Kings and by the Priests he is cursed; such is the perversion of consciences; on such a slough, reddened with blood, do the powers of this world idly seek to build. But the Revolution nurses its strength, and, fermenting in the dark, bides

its time and opportunity to burst forth with a renewed and fell impetuosity. The ruling powers are they that have renovated its vigour! The mind in its sadness outstrips the movement of events, and is lost in dark forebodings of the future.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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